Periodical
APRIL, 1935

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THE CRISIS

SHIELDS, ELLINGTON AND BROWN

(Escaped Mississippi noose, but Death trails them—See page 119)

THUMBS DOWN ON UNIONS!

BY J. WELLINGTON EVANS

THE GEORGE CRAWFORD CASE

A STATEMENT BY THE N. A. A. C. P.

UPON THIS ROCK

BY EDWARD ARBOR

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Which Way Shall the Negro Go?

1. A Nation in the Black Belt?
2. A Forty-ninth Negro State?
3. Full, Unsegregated Status as Americans?

A symposium discussion of these three proposals will be a feature of the May CRISIS, out April 22.

James S. Allen, a leading Communist writer, will outline the Communist theory of self-determination for a black belt nation in the South.

An official of the Forty-ninth State Movement in Chicago has been invited to outline its program.

George S. Schuyler will present the case for the American colored people who do not believe themselves a separate nation or want a separate state created for them.

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The CRISIS

69 Fifth Avenue New York, N. Y.

Pictures of Beautiful Homes

THE CRISIS invites its readers to submit pictures of beautiful homes owned by colored people in various parts of the country—exterior views. A selection of the photographs submitted will be made and a goodly number published in the July issue, out June 22.

The photographs must be in THE CRISIS office not later than June 1, 1935. Appropriate information should accompany each photograph so that proper credit can be given.

MAIL TO

THE CRISIS, 69 Fifth avenue, New York, N. Y.

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THE CRISIS

Founded 1910

REG. U. S. PAT. OFF.

A Record of the Darker Races

ROY WILKINS, Managing Editor

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Volume 42, No. 4 *Whole No. 292*

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NEXT MONTH

The May issue will contain a symposium on ways out for the Negro.

●

George S. Schuyler writes an article called "Separate State Hokum."

●

James S. Allen's contribution to the discussion will be an explanation of the Communist theory of self-determination for the Black Belt.

●

An officer of the Forty-Ninth State Movement will tell of its plan.

●

There will be an article on St. Louis, Mo., the seat of the 26th Annual N.A.A.C.P. Conference next June, by Robert P. Watts.

●

The concluding part of the statement on the George Crawford case.

●

The June issue will have a piece by Frank R. Crosswaith about union labor and the Negro, with the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union as an example. Also an estimate of President Stenio Vincent's government in Haiti by William Pickens.

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

E. Simms Campbell is a widely known illustrator for the magazines, especially for his work in *Esquire*.

●

J. Wellington Evans lives in Chicago.

●

David H. Pierce was formerly on the editorial staff of the Cleveland *News*.

●

Thelma Rea Thurston is a student at the University of Minnesota.

●

J. Edward Arbor lives in Atlanta, Ga.

●

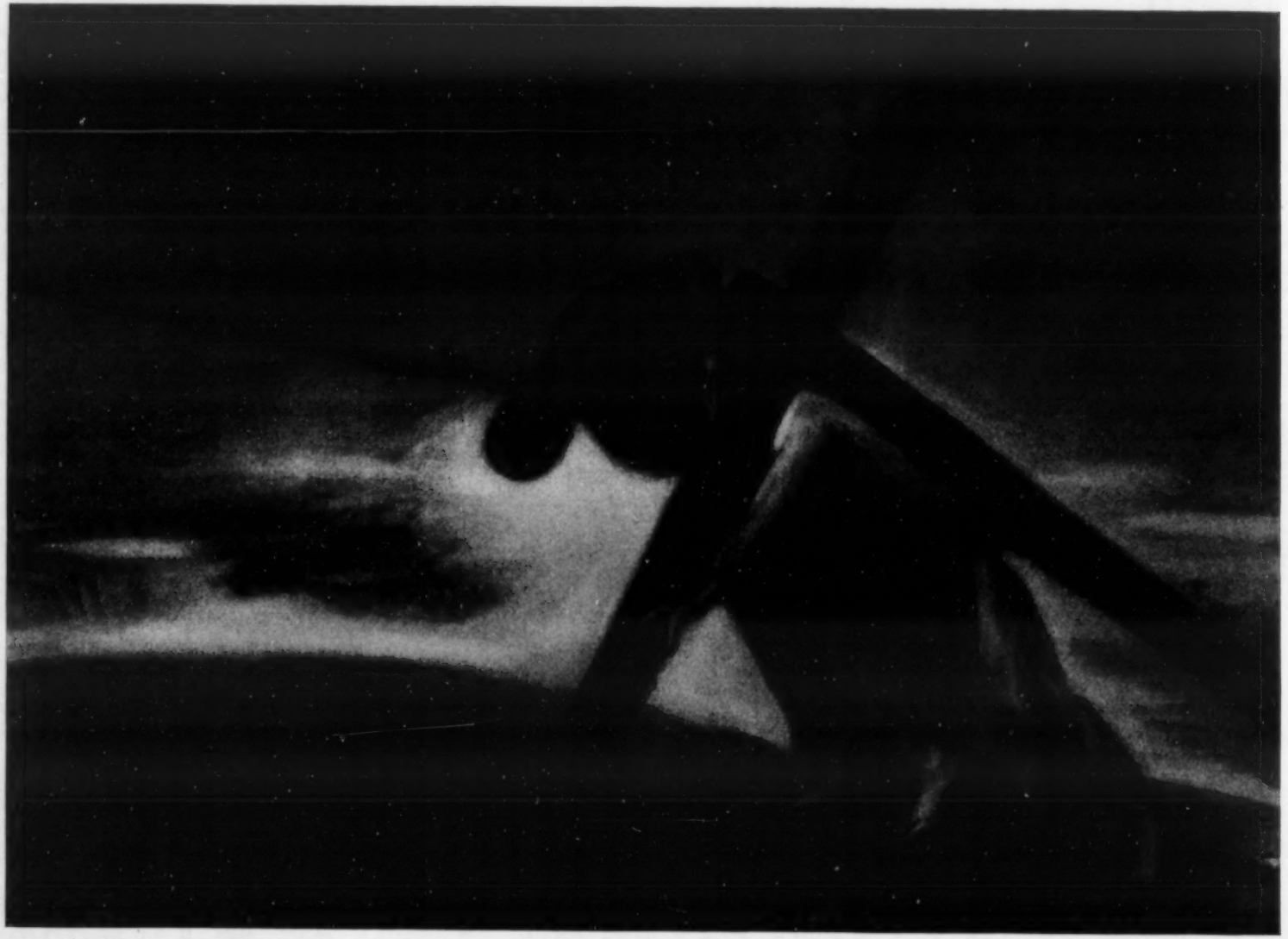
Hollace Ransdell is a well known student, writer and worker in liberal and labor movements.

●

Shirley Graham wrote the opera "Tom Tom," produced in Cleveland two seasons ago.

●

THE CRISIS regrets that factors over which it had no control have prevented the presentation of the article, "The Bronx Slave Market," scheduled for this issue.



"I PASSED ALONG THIS WAY"

E. Simms Campbell, the talented young illustrator, turned his pen away from humor to do this strong piece for "An Art Commentary on Lynching," the exhibit that attracted nation-wide attention when it was shown in New York, February 15–March 2. *See page 106*

Thumbs Down on Unions!

By J. Wellington Evans

THE naively phrased article by Miss Thyra J. Edwards, published in the March CRISIS, is, I am sure, a remarkable example of "extended" journalism. In fact, it is so extended that it far over-reaches its purpose and dips impotently into fable.

In "Let Us Have More Like Mr. Sopkins," Miss Edwards shivered delightfully when she mentioned Sopkin's costly drive for corralling his Negro employees into his company's union. Caught off guard, I too did some unusual twittering until I remembered that within the organization of B. Sopkin & Sons there is nothing even remotely akin to a company union. Obviously, we are being herded into something which does not exist, we are signing our names with ghostly pens upon ledgers of dreams. Such a feat smacks more strongly of Thurston than of Sopkin.

She implies that to further this magical corralling Sopkin employed Joseph Nahas as manager of personnel. Since Nahas rose from our ranks to his present high position through years of faithful service, my credulity balks when asked to believe that Ben Sopkin recognized so specific a need for him so many years before that need arose. But, of course, Mr. Sopkin may have studied fortune telling.

Still the facile pen scratches on, indicting Miss Jennie Lawrence as a dubious social worker and a cow-girl in this monstrous round-up. Miss Lawrence's work in the miracle, so Miss Edwards insists, is the weekly collection of ten cents from each girl, the giving of parties, the buying of flowers, and the checking of attendance at supposedly company union affairs. Personally, I have observed Miss Lawrence showing guests through the plants (many, many times), giving advice and aid to the girls, seeing that baskets of food reach the needy, or sitting for hours at her desk interviewing prospective employees. Of her, Fannie E. Bowers, president of the Phyllis Wheatley Home in which she served four useful years, has written: "She was our most efficient superintendent and our only regret was she could not serve us longer." Besides, Miss Lawrence spent two years as volunteer social worker for the Women's Federated Clubs, a period of time as volunteer social worker at Bridewell, and another four years conducting a free employment office. What more must she do to remove the stigma, dubious?

As for the collection of dimes, if Miss Edwards can prove her smooth accusation, a donation of fifty sound American dollars will be given to any charitable organization she may name.

Evidently some Chicagoans are not greatly in favor of A. F. of L. unions, especially in the garment trade. This is a reply to the article by Thyra J. Edwards which appeared last month

Inaccurate

In paragraph four, our instructress links Mr. Brascher with Sam Insull. Unfortunately, I am staring at the accused publicist's own statement: "I, Nahum D. Brascher of Chicago, hereby deny any connection, present or past, with Samuel Insull." Perhaps, in mentioning Insull, Miss Edwards got her czars mixed and intended to write of Ivan the Terrible.

However, another paragraph tells of a glorious strike last year. The strike took place in 1933, a year earlier. A disinterested commission (a copy of the commission's report is in the hands of the editor)—a distinterested commission of thirty-three representative citizens thoroughly investigated the charges made during that disturbance and found them groundless.

Now, our informer assures me that Sopkin girls paid twenty-five cents the evening of November 2 to enter the Eighth Regiment Armory and crown Miss Jennie Lawrence "Queen of Queens." This ceremony took place on Monday night, April 2. Esther Cage, an employee, was the fortunate young queen.

Five Dollars for Best Letter

THE CRISIS will pay five dollars for the best letter of not more than 500 words on the subject: "Negro Workers and Union Labor."

The letters must be in THE CRISIS office not later than May 1, 1935. The winning letter will be published in the June CRISIS, out May 22. The letters will be judged not on flowery language, but on simple, good English, common sense and logic. You do not have to have a college degree to write a good letter. The competition is open to anyone. Address your letter to THE CRISIS, 69 Fifth avenue, New York, N. Y.

Up and up she soars on pinions of ink until she reaches that pinnacle of rhetoric: "European workers are politically too mature ever to be taken in by the false premise that employer and employee have a common rather than a contra-interest." I firmly believe that class strife is fostered by such sharp class demarcation; for the surest way of slaying friendship is to convince either group that they must war against each other. The general good is made healthy, not by the vitiating toxin of class hatred (the Negro certainly should have his fill of that), but by the American serum of united working toward a common goal.

A. F. of L. Scored

By that I do not mean the brand of unionism dispensed by the American Federation of Labor and preached by Miss Edwards. The present-day labor movement as directed by the A. F. of L. is this age's nearest approach to medieval monarchy. In the Middle Ages kings rid themselves of opposers by having them conveniently beheaded: only a few weeks ago an employee of the Chicago Motor Coach Company was murdered in cold blood by union-paid killers because he unfortunately believed that he had the right to earn his living without dictation from a source which did not furnish any part of his livelihood. In those dark centuries conscientious objectors were torn limb from limb upon the rack: today they are dragged from their trucks, are left lying in the streets, life blood pulsing from their wounds. Back in those centuries we are pleased to name barbaric the ruling class grew fat on taxes pressed from the masses: but in 1935 union leaders get wealthy on dues ground out of the empty pockets of misguided labor. Unlike Miss Edwards, I cannot have faith in a man who denounces another's method of creating personal wealth yet himself squeezes from that same overladen source a bank account equivalent to the total yearly earnings of five hundred honest workers. Indeed, give me those ancient kings, for there was for them the excuse of divine appointment.

I am almost at the point of challenging Miss Edward's disinterestedness. The first time I saw her she was bulwarked by the redoubtable Frank R. Crosswaith, union Demosthenes, and Sam Glassman, asthmatic Nero of a Chicago local. This trio attempted to impress four of us (William Norman,

(*Continued on page* 114)

The George Crawford Case

A Statement by the N.A.A.C.P.—Part I

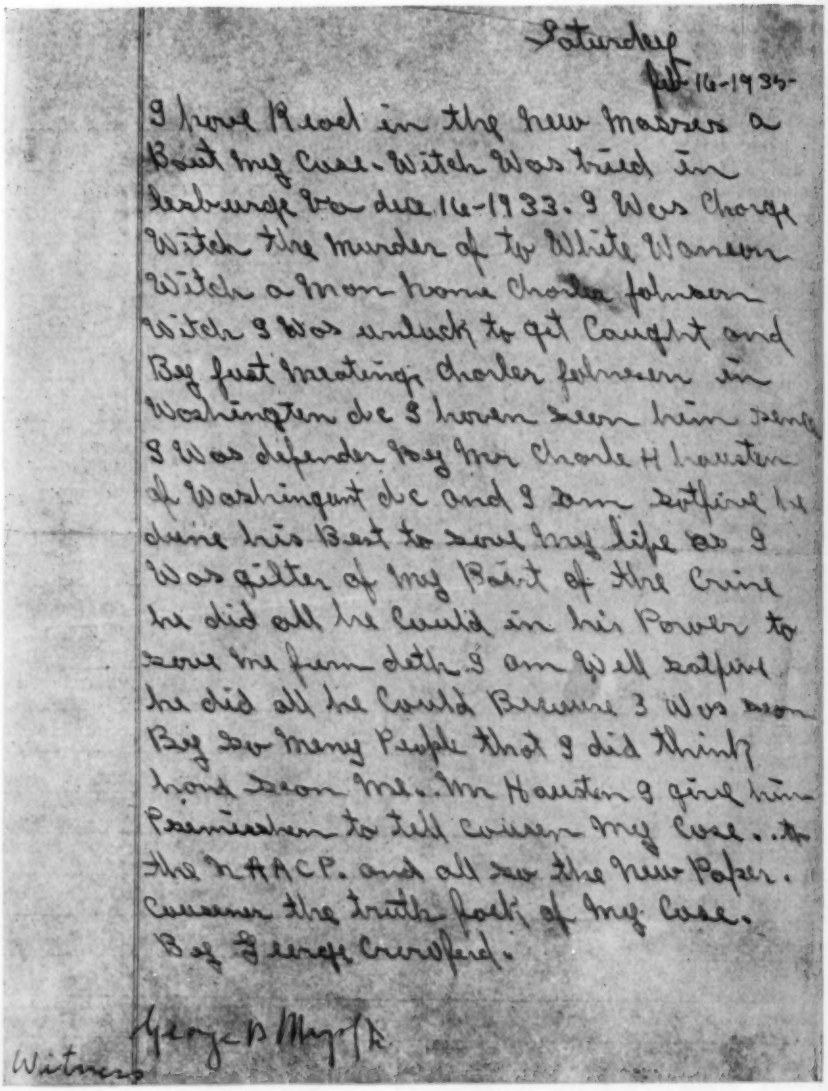
George Crawford, from his cell in the Virginia state penitentiary at Richmond, has given permission to the N.A.A.C.P. to make public events in connection with his arrest, trial and conviction on a charge of murder. The Association makes this statement not with the idea of entering into a controversy, but merely to advise its members and friends of what actually took place. In Part I of the statement herewith is taken up the question of Crawford's alleged alibi and also the rumor of the connection of Mrs. Ilsley's brother with the crime. In Part II, which will appear in the May CRISIS will be taken up the trial, the disposition of the appeal, and the plea of guilty

MRS. AGNES BOEING ILSLEY and her maid, Mrs. Mina Buckner, both white, were murdered January 13. 1932 in Mrs. Ilsley's cottage in Middleburg, Virginia. The murderer was not apprehended at the time. The authorities suspected and indicted a Negro, George Crawford. Police bulletins containing his description, picture and finger print classification were sent to all metropolitan police headquarters. Meanwhile local gossip in Middleburg had begun to link Mrs. Ilsley's brother's name with the murders. Different versions of the rumors ran that the brother had committed the murders in a quarrel, that he had had the murders committed so as to come into Mrs. Ilsley's estate or insurance, with variations on ways and means.

About a year later, January 12, 1933, a Negro going by the name of Joseph Taylor was arrested in Boston for attempting to break into a store. A routine check of his finger prints disclosed the identical classification of the finger prints of George Crawford. The Commonwealth of Virginia was notified and extradition proceedings were begun to return him to Virginia.

The man arrested in Boston resisted extradition on the ground, first, that he was not George Crawford, and second that he had been in Boston on the day of the murders. Boston witnesses testified in support of the alibi; Virginia witnesses came north and testified that the man was George Crawford and that they had seen him in or near Middleburg the day preceding the murders. Later the man admitted he was Crawford, but clung to his alibi. His story was that he had come to Boston in September, 1931, with a sweetheart named Bertie DeNeal, and had not left Boston between September, 1931 and the day of the murders in January, 1932.

Massachusetts decided to send Crawford back to Virginia, but his lawyers, Butler R. Wilson and J. Weston Allen


Saturday
Feb 16-1935-
I have Read in the New Masses a
Boat my Case - Witch Was tried in
Leesburg Va dec 16-1933. I Was Charge
Witch the murder of tw White Women
Witch a Man name Charles Johnson
Witch I Was unluck to get Caught and
By just meating Charles Johnson in
Washington dc I haven seen him since
I Was defender By Mr Charle H Houston
of Washingun dc and I am satfied he
dune his Best to save my life as I
Was guilty of my Part of the Crime
he did all he Could in his Power to
save me from death I am well satfied
he did all he Could Because I Was seen
By so many Peaple that I did think
hard seen me. Mr Houston I give him
Permission to tell Concern my Case. to
the N.A.A.C.P. and all so the New Paper.
Concern the truth fact of my Case.
By George Crawford.
George B Murphy Jr.
Witness

On Saturday, February 16, 1935, Crawford gave permission to Vice-Dean Houston and the N.A.A.C.P. to make public the facts concerning his case. The letter reads: "I have read in the New Masses about my case which was tried in Leesburg, Va., December 16, 1933. I was charged with the murder of two white women with a man named Charles Johnson which I was unlucky to get caught and by just meeting Charles Johnson in Washington, D. C. I haven't seen him since. I was defended by Mr. Charles H. Houston of Washington, D. C., and I am satisfied he did his best to save my life as I was guilty of my part of the crime. He did all he could in his power to save me from death. I am well satisfied he did all he could because I was seen by so many people that I did (not) think had seen me. Mr. Houston I give him permission to tell concerning my case, the N.A.A.C.P. and also the newspapers concerning the true facts of my case. By George Crawford. Witness George B. Murphy."

brought habeas corpus proceedings, which resulted in Judge Lowell's famous decision; the case went all the way to the supreme court of the United States before Crawford was finally returned to Virginia.

Crawford's Boston lawyers did not follow the case back to Virginia, but the defense there was turned over to Charles H. Houston of Washington, and his associates Leon A. Ransom, Edward P. Lovett and James G. Tyson. Houston's defense of Crawford has been sharply criticized by Misses Helen Boardman and Martha Gruening, and certain Communist organs. This is the first of two articles briefly summarizing the investigation, trial and disposition of the Ilsley and Buckner cases.

Preliminary Investigation

Acting on request from Walter White, Houston and Lovett on March 9, 1933, made the grand jury investigation in Virginia upon which the habeas corpus proceedings in Boston were based. March 22, 1933, Houston and Lovett went to Boston to place themselves at the disposition of Messrs. Wilson and Allen, Crawford's lawyers in Boston. On the preceding day Wilson had obtained from Crawford an exclusive power of attorney running in his name and that of Allen. Houston offered to make a general investigation in Virginia if Wilson would give him a letter of instructions and a photostat copy of the power of attorney which Wilson had obtained from Crawford in order to protect himself as a lawyer from a charge of intermeddling. Failure to receive these prevented a Virginia investigation being made early in the case. Houston did not receive power of attorney from Crawford until October 24, 1933, and made the Virginia investigations after that date.

In the meantime the N.A.A.C.P. had issued its publicity on the strength of the Boston alibi and a preliminary investigation in Virginia made by Helen Boardman in January, 1933. Miss Boardman had been sent into Virginia by the association primarily to get evidence for the extraditon hearings on the question whether there would be danger of a lynching if Crawford were returned. She incidentally picked up some of the local gossip which in brief charged that Virginia was trying to make a scapegoat out of Crawford in order to cover up a white man's participation in the crime.

Main Investigation

As to the principal matters to be investigated, it was fair to assume that the alibi had been thoroughly probed in preparation for the extradition proceedings in Boston in January and February, 1933. Crawford in an interview about March 24, 1933, in the Charles Street jail, told Houston, Lovett and Wilson that a cellmate by the name of Herbert Finch had been present in the cell January 19, 1933, when the guards had dragged him out and forced him to talk with John Galleher, commonwealth attorney of Loudoun county, Virginia (the interview which produced the alleged confession). It is interesting to note that in a signed statement which Crawford made January 25, 1933, purporting to recite the circumstances under which Galleher had interviewed him, he made no mention of Finch and made no claim that the guards had dragged him out of his cell or forced him to talk with Galleher. Finch was not produced at the extradition hearings, although the Virginia authorities introduced the alleged confession in evidence. No one was ever able to locate Finch. When Ransom and Tyson went to Boston in November, 1933, to investigate the alibi and the confession, they checked the records of the Charles Street jail with the jail officials and no record of such a prisoner could be found.

As to the Virginia investigation, very little could be done until after the motions to quash the indictments had been heard before Judge McLemore, November 5 and 6, 1933. Crawford did not arrive in Virginia until October 28. Houston at that time was in Alabama on the Willie Peterson case, and did not reach Washington until November 1.

(*Continued on page* 116)

2 April 1933

J. Weston Allen, Esq.,
Butler R. Wilson, Esq.,
Boston;

Gentlemen:

In re Commonwealth v. Crawford: Material re history of habeas corpus

1. I inclose herewith some material on the history of habeas corpus. It will doubtless interest you to know that the provision in the Federal Constitution was taken directly from the Constitution of Massachusetts, 1780.

2. Tracing the Statutes at Large shows that the jurisdiction of habeas corpus has been constantly expanding under our federal jurisprudence. The Congress has found it necessary more and more to rely on it as a protection of federal rights against state action. I hand you the statutes through 1863. The other statutes have been marked but not copied.

3. As far as we have gone the case seems one of first impression on its particular combination of facts. There are cases against us on the general question of questioning the grand jury panel by habeas corpus, but in our opinion they are distinguishable. We should be able to give you a report on this by the end of the week.

4. At the present moment the cases seem to show that a person cannot be tried in Virginia for a felony except upon an indictment; that a single grand juror being disqualified renders tye indictment void. If that be so, then Virginia cannot proceed on an indictment founded on a violation of the Constitution in excluding qualified grand jurors because of race; and so far as the particular indictment is concerned, Crawford is illegally detained.

5. To-morrow I will try to give you a final report on the depositions.

6. I will appreciate it if you will let me have a copy of the return to the writ, if any return has been made.

7. I have written Mr. Wilson twice about the letter of instructions and photostat copy of power of attorney, but have not heard from him. Failure to receive the letter of instructions and photostat copy of the power of attorney kept me from going up in the country Saturday.

Yours sincerely,

Charles H. Houston.

Ground work for the habeas corpus proceedings with a note on the delayed authority to investigate

An Art Exhibit Against Lynching

MORE than 3,000 persons in New York City visited "An Art Commentary on Lynching," which was on display at the Arthur U. Newton Galleries, February 15 through March 2.

This latest educational effort against lynching was sponsored by a committee of distinguished citizens of both races, but the exhibit itself was organized by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Four days before the date for the opening, the N.A.A.C.P. was notified by the Jacques Seligmann Galleries, where the exhibit was scheduled to be housed, that because of "political, social and economic pressure, the gallery would be unable to go through with the exhibit." Beyond this the Seligmann Galleries would not explain. When the announcement of the cancellation was made, the Newton Gallery was one of the first to offer its facilities. By feverish work in issuing corrected announcements the exhibit opened as scheduled with a preview Friday, February 15, at which Mrs. Pearl S. Buck, the novelist, spoke and Edward Matthews, the baritone, sang. The cancellation of the show by the Seligmann Galleries and the attendant publicity served only to increase the number of visitors to the show when it finally opened.

The exhibit consisted of oils, black-and-whites, wood carving and sculpture. The pieces which attracted the most attention were George Bellows' famous lithograph, "The Law Is Too Slow"; Thomas Benton's "A Lynching"; John Steuart Curry's "The Fugitive"; Julius Bloch's "Prisoner"; E. Simms Campbell's "I Passed Along This Way" (see frontispiece); and Reginald Marsh's "This Is Her First Lynching". Mr. Marsh's drawing, which appeared first in the *New Yorker* and later in THE CRISIS, shows a little girl being held high in the air by her mother so as to get a good view of the lynching. Other artists who had pieces on exhibit were: Peggy Bacon, Henry W. Bannarn, George Biddle, Samuel J. Brown, Fred Buchholz, Paul Cadmus, William Chase, Edmund Duffy, Daniel Fitzpatrick, Norman Foster, Allan Freelon, Jared French, Aaron J. Goodleman, Bertram Goodman, K. Gundry, Bernar Gussow, Irwin D. Hoffman, Jay Jackson, Wilmer Jennings, M. Gray Johnson, Rollin Kirby, Benjamin Kopman, Arthur LeDuc, Charles Logasa, William Mosby, Fred Nagler, Jose Clemente Orozco, Harry Sternberg, Prentiss Taylor, Warren Wheelock and Hale Woodruff.

Sherwood Anderson and Erskine Caldwell wrote forewords for the exhibit catalogue.

Among the persons who registered at the galleries were visitors from London, England; Copenhagen, Denmark; Hollywood, California; Rome, Italy; Cleveland, Ohio; Louisville, Kentucky; Paris, France; Detroit, Michigan; Bennington, Vermont; Boston, Massachusetts; and Nashville, Tennessee.

Plans are being made, provided sufficient funds can be raised, to send the exhibit on a tour of the country, including many cities in the South.

The exhibit received considerable publicity in the New York dailies and in dailies throughout the country, largely because of the furore caused by the cancellation. Critics, generally, acknowledged that there was much artistic merit in the pieces submitted.

The New York *World-Telegram* critic said:

"This exhibition may do much to crystallize public opinion. In it are fifty odd paintings, sculptures, prints, drawings and cartoons depicting the horrors of the practice. It is an exhibition which tears the heart and chills the blood.

"Remember, this is not an exhibition for softies. It may upset your stomach. If it upsets your complacency on the subject it will have been successful."

Above, "Dixie Holiday," a wood carving by William Mosby; below, "A Lynching," by Thomas Benton, two pieces in "An Art Commentary on Lynching"

Fascism and the Negro

By David H. Pierce

IF a decaying capitalism sees fit to inaugurate a Fascist dictatorship in the United States, what will be the status of the Negro? This question is of paramount importance to 12,000,000 Afro-Americans, in spite of the unwillingness of lethargic members of the race to confront the Fascist menace to their few remaining liberties with any degree of seriousness. Consequently, at the outset, I must take issue with a recent contributor to THE CRISIS, who objected to the space given in an earlier issue to an exceedingly illuminating and pertinent exposition of this menacing political and economic phenomenon.

Fascism, if permitted to gain power unchallenged, will destroy every vestige of culture in American life. It will deprive the Negro of the status of a citizen from Maine to California. Between Georgia and Massachusetts the Negro will find no environmental difference except that of temperature. Georgia and the Carolinas will move to the north and west.

The history of Fascism in Europe, and especially of German Fascism, is proof enough. In Germany the Negro is presented as an inferior breed of humankind. The Japanese, on the contrary, are lauded, because Germany and Japan have designs on the Soviet Union. Otherwise, Japan would also be relegated by Hitler's pseudo-scientists to the inferior breeds.

Should Fascism take root in America, the plight of minority groups would be indeed horrible; for appearing later in this country than in the old world, the Fascist reaction would have to employ a policy of extreme ruthlessness from the beginning. It must of necessity resort to undisguised terror, because the later Fascism makes its appearance in any country, the stronger is the opposition it must expect to meet. When Mussolini marched on Rome, he employed castor oil and gangster murders as weapons against his opponents. When the late but not lamented Chancellor Dolfuss decided to eliminate the last vestiges of democracy in Austria, he immediately used cannon, machine guns and the gibbet. And all this, it is strongly rumored, at the behest of the more experienced Mussolini.

Fascism in Austria came thirteen years after it was established in Rome. Mussolini was able to take advantage of a disordered post-war situation. Thus he has been able to pose as a model tyrant, thanks further to the strict press censorship he has maintained. But such

Fascism in America will mean for the Negro a slavery beside which ante-bellum days will appear to be a paradise, declares this writer

novels as *Fontamara* by Silone give the secret away. Fascism in Italy, as elsewhere, means physical and mental slavery for all but the favored few.

Violence and Murder

Should Fascism come to America in the next few months or years, violence and murder will necessarily be an integral part of the installation ceremonies. America is accustomed to violence. Its racial and labor conflicts have invariably been bloody. And when big business and high finance discover themselves threatened with a catastrophe, rest assured that they will not handle the opponents of industrial feudalism with kind words.

The revelations of General Smedley D. Butler with reference to a proposed march on Washington have deliberately been treated facetiously by the daily press. Butler, however, revealed with characteristic frankness that millions of dollars were available for a Fascist army composed in the main of Legionnaires, all former army men. While the exposure may serve to postpone the formation of the anti-labor, anti-Negro, anti-Jewish, and anti-foreign-born military force, it is only a postponement. The principal conflict today among Fascist elements is a disagreement over methods. Shall control be seized by force, or by employing more peaceful devices such as granting ever greater dictatorial powers to federal authorities surrounding the President and to the chief executive himself?

Fascism in America will seek at once to divide the potential opposition. The dying middle class will be filled with the poison of race hatred. Segregation, which is fast becoming as serious an issue in Ohio and Pennsylvania as it has been in the South, will be established by official edict. The fiction of Negro inferiority will be elevated to the status of a proved psychological and sociological law. That the black man has no rights which a white man is bound to respect will become an established principle of federal and state legal codes. Separate schools, Jim Crow residential areas, separate restaurants and theaters, the denial to the black man of the right to vote or hold office, or to educate his children at public expense, will follow just as surely as night follows day. Friendly social intercourse between the races will be taboo. Intermarriage will be transformed into a grave felony punishable by long imprisonment or death.

One has only to read the official documents and the pseudo-scientific literature emanating from Germany for verification of these predictions. Or follow the account of the Italian-Abyssinian dispute, wherein it is taken for granted that Negro lives may with justification be snuffed out in order to satisfy the ambitions and the dire needs of a harrassed, petty imitation of the Caesars.

New Deal Empty

If the Negro in America is inclined to expect marvels from the imaginary New Deal, let him face the realities. His closed banks have not reopened. New jobs have not been created for him. Mr. Roosevelt has not employed his personal charms or his political influence to promote the Costigan-Wagner anti-lynch bill. Proposed federal housing schemes are everywhere segregation projects. Federal emergency relief measures permit a lower dole for Negro unemployed. A Negro minister in Selma, Alabama, was driven out of the city at the point of a gun merely for suggesting a uniform wage scale. In every industry which employs Negroes in considerable numbers, such as the fertilizer industry of Delaware, there are convenient omissions in NRA labor codes. In Georgia, federal authorities grant to a prejudiced governor the power to allot to black men on relief the munificent sum of fifty cents a day while white unemployed are given nearly that sum for an hour's work on a public project.

All this is merely incipient Fascism, not the genuine variety. We still are permitted to give lip-service to democracy. A colored resident in New York or Chicago may cast his ballot or seek

(*Continued on page* 114)

NEXT MONTH

A symposium on ways out for the Negro will be a feature of the May issue. A Black Belt Nation and the Forty-ninth State will be discussed as well as a view opposing these two solutions. Out April 22.

An Interracial Settlement House

By Thelma Rea Thurston

THE building of a $94,000 settlement house; the securing of employment for Negroes in many hitherto unopened fields; and the development of a wide range of classes and group activities, both recreational and educational, for members of all racial groups, are only a few of the achievements which were recalled at the recent tenth anniversary celebration of Phyllis Wheatley Settlement House in Minneapolis.

Ten years ago, Phyllis Wheatley House, then better known as the "Heart Center of Bassett Place," struggled through its social service activities in a rambling, old, two-story frame structure known as the old Talmud Torah school. Under the direction of Miss W. Gertrude Brown, former executive secretary of the Federation of Social Service for Negroes in Dayton, Ohio, the classes and group activities of the settlement soon outgrew the facilities of the poorly-equipped building that housed it. The building was so crowded that there was hardly standing room to pass from one group activity to another. Cooking, sewing, and art classes were filled to overflowing; and there were always applicants who couldn't get in. Often there was hardly standing room at the forums and civic programs and entertainments. In addition to Miss Brown, the staff of the House on Bassett Place consisted of an office secretary and a part-time boys' worker. Today the staff consists of fourteen paid workers beside Miss Brown, the Head Resident. The staff is assisted by thirty-three volunteer workers.

Today, the staff operates in a handsome, modern, two-story, red brick building, which was dedicated October 17, 1929, just five years after the establishment of the work. It has every necessary recreational convenience, many of which it lacked before. On the first floor of the house there are the main office, the head resident's office, library, director's room, and the nursery: a unit of five rooms, kindergarten and dining room combined, kitchen, playroom, sleeping room and bath. In the basement are located the community kitchen, girls' club room, boys' club room, three dressing rooms for boys, three for girls, sewing room, laundry, boys' athletic director's room, girls' athletic director's room, and separate showers for boys and girls. On the second floor are eighteen bedrooms, resident and transient, men's club room, dental and baby clinics, resident's kitchen, dining room, and parlor, and a parlor for transients.

Phyllis Wheatley House in Minneapolis, Minn., which celebrated recently its tenth anniversary, is that great rarity: a settlement house staffed by Negroes and used by white and colored adults and children. In the clear, cold air of Minnesota, its Head Resident, its financial supporters and its board of directors are charting a course for the harmonious and mutually-respectful living together of the races

MISS W. GERTRUDE BROWN

Haven for Transients

Ten years ago there would have been no accommodations for the many transient guests of distinction who have stayed at the house. Among them have been Richard B. Harrison, "De Lawd" in "Green Pastures"; Roland Hayes, Ethel Waters, stage and radio star; Frank Wilson, of "Porgy"; Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, T. Arnold Hill, of the National Urban League; Miss Jane Hunter, executive secretary of the Cleveland, Ohio, Phyllis Wheatley Association; Mrs. Mary M. Bethune, president of the Bethune-Cookman school; A. Philip Randolph, national organizer of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and many others.

Ten years ago, on Bassett Place, Phyllis Wheatley Settlement House had no nursery. Today, little, dark-skinned children of Ethiopia eat, sleep, and play in the Mary T. Welcome nursery side by side with little blonde, blue-eyed Vikings, and their swarthier cousins of southern European descent. The nursery which was made possible through the contributions of the relatives of Mrs. Mary T. Welcome, provides a very helpful service to the working mother, the over-crowded home, and to the child who needs special training in habit forming. The nursery, which opens at 7:30 a.m., conducts the following program: supervised play, luncheon at 11:30, bath at 12:30, rest period 1:00 to 3:30, supper at 4:00, and return to homes at 5:30. These services are rendered for the payment of a very small daily fee. The regular pre-school kindergarten program is conducted from 9:00 until 11:00 a.m. without cost to the parents of the participating children.

Approaching the House around four o'clock on any day except Saturday or Sunday, the stranger may regard with mild surprise, the number of freshly scrubbed, eager faces which bob up and down around the wrought iron stair rail in front of the colonial doorway or that crowd the lobby of the House. The reason for this host of youngsters is not an interracial party, but the regularly scheduled Four-o'Clock-Hour Club. This club is an institution whose fame has spread far beyond the colonial facade of Phyllis Wheatley House and the district out North. It has been made possible in the past ten years largely through the co-operation of the North High Girls' Service Club with the staff of Phyllis Wheatley.

The Phyllis Wheatley House of ten years ago would have had no adequate facilities to accommodate such a group at the Four-o'Clock-Hour Club, nor would it have been able to care for the numerous other clubs and regularly scheduled classes which now meet there. In the basement and in club rooms on the second floor, sewing, textiles, foods, millinery, needle art, public speaking, and crafts are taught. Painting, poster-making, clay-modeling, soap-carving, and manual training classes attract members of all races represented in the vicinity of Phyllis Wheatley House. At the baby clinic white and black mothers discuss their problems and offer mutual solutions. Even Negro literature, Negro

history and other aspects of Negro culture, as well as citizenship and civics which are taught through the medium of a carefully developed Minneapolis Sunday Forum program, attract almost equal numbers of all races.

Athletics, Cultural Projects

Seasonal athletics, such as football, basketball, and baseball play a big part in the recreational program of the House. Various other recreational interests for young people are also maintained. Among these are hiking, swimming, skating, tennis, group games and dancing. The young people, members of various House organizations, also publish a little news-sheet. This paper, *The Hawk*, features weekly accounts of various House activities, which, in themselves, are representative of the tremendous progress which has been made in the work in the past ten years.

Despite the many interracial aspects of the work, one of the big objectives of the House in the past ten years has been to publicize the potentialities of the Negro in Minneapolis. With most of the regularly scheduled classes, athletics, and special interest groups conducted interracially, this objective has been achieved largely through the agencies of the music and dramatic departments. The Phyllis Wheatley Glee Club, the Community Chorus, quartets and orchestra have been most outstanding in this connection. These groups have served as "good-will" messengers to many interracial groups in the Twin Cities. The Glee Club, which is noted for its annual vesper services, is one of the best known "good-will" groups of the House. Every Christmas Eve it conducts carol singing tours throughout the city. These tours, beside being worthwhile publicity projects, are usually very remunerative, particularly in the exclusive Lake Minnetonka district. The music department, during the first five years, presented a Twin City chorus of one hundred voices under the direction of George L. Johnson, of the National Recreational and Playground Association of America. The department also sponsored an artist's recital by Marian Anderson, internationally known contralto. Each year the Phyllis Wheatley Players, the oldest dramatic group in the House, presents several excellent plays. Two comparatively recent dramatic groups have presented a number of very good Negro plays, including "Plumes," "Dreamy Kid," and a pageant, "The Light of the Women," depicting the development of the Negro race.

Ten years ago, Phyllis Wheatley House was established to render service in a community where poor housing and underpriviliged conditions were the rule. Today, though those conditions are not yet the exception, and though the housing situation in the Sumner Field District leaves a number of things to be desired, there are many noticeable improvements in the actual living conditions of the people in that vicinity. Phyllis Wheatley House, with its modern, well-kept, well-equipped club rooms; its beautiful little library; tastefully furnished resident and transient quarters; spacious assembly room and stage; and its large gymnasium which can also be used for the production of plays and presentation of speakers to large audiences, has raised the standards of the people in the community.

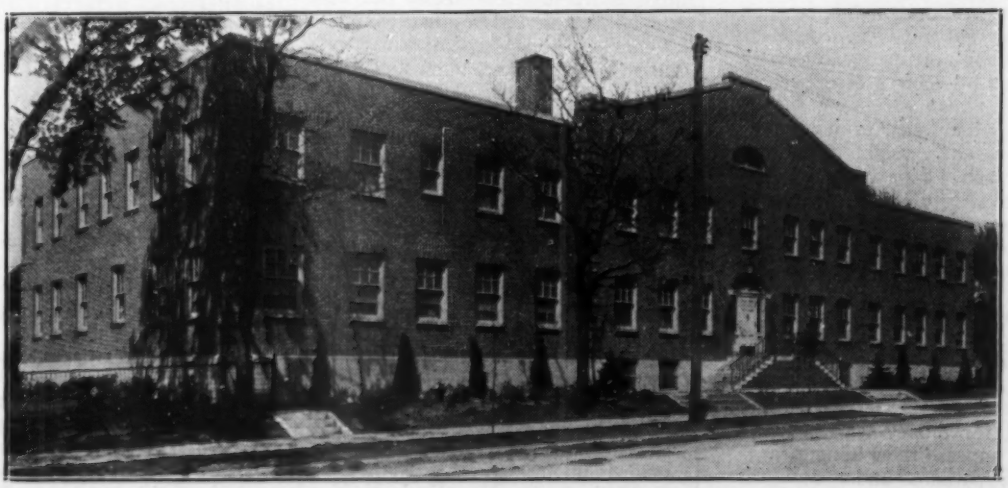
The library is the haven of the youngsters, as well as the adults, of the neighborhood. Thick, beige curtains with bright peasant designs in yellow, green, and red do not shut out any of the sunlight which streams through the windows and falls upon the little tables and chairs. At night the golden glow of lights beneath yellowed parchment shades, the straight high-backed Puritan benches with their little footstools beside the fireplace, and the dull, cream-colored back-ground of walls whose severity is broken only by an occasional picture and rows of books, afford an atmosphere that is particularly conducive to reading or studying. The library, also, came into existence with the new House. Today it has nearly one thousand volumes, and nearly thirty weekly and monthly magazines and papers. It is fast becoming a reference library on the Negro. One of its most treasured volumes is a first edition of the poems of Phyllis Wheatley, published in London in 1773. The book was a gift to the House by Edward C. Gale.

Like the library, the club rooms, and resident and transient quarters are all charmingly furnished. Among the newer possessions of the House is a grand piano in the resident parlor, the gift of James Ford Bell who has been a great benefactor of the House during the ten years of its existence. Furnishings and decorations throughout the House have been carried out with an eye to proportion and color harmony which would instill a greater love and appreciation of the beautiful and harmonious in the various groups to whose service the House is dedicated.

Spirit of Phyllis Wheatley

Upon entering the House, one is at once charmed and impressed by the lobby. Simple arched doorways lead upstairs, to the nursery and to the assembly room. Straight ahead, and flanked on either side by two interesting wall murals in relief, are the doors to the gym. One may look into the cozy, inviting library on the left, or at the beautifully-done water-color portrait

(*Continued on page* 125)



THE PHYLLIS WHEATLEY HOUSE

Upon This Rock

By J. Edward Arbor

Negro militancy in the South is held firmly in check by the fundamentalists in the Negro church, declares this young southern colored writer

IT has ever remained a puzzle to me why so-called Negro radical writers have never attacked the tradition-produced lethargy that impedes the efforts of the southern Negro to progress. Of course, I realize that Negro writers in the North perhaps do not understand how deeply rooted are the fundamentalistic religious principles that govern southern thought, and that the few radical writers who do exist in the South cannot find a medium through which to express their opinions, but it seems that before now, in spite of this, many voices should have been raised in protest against the veils of superstition that befog the vision of Negroes below the Mason and Dixon line.

To criticize the Negro church in the South is as unthinkable as to advocate nihilism. It is actually doing no less than undermining the prop upon which the southern Negro depends for his inspiration and fortitude. It is my belief, however, that since such a prop is, at most, only a superficial support, its destruction would mean merely that the Negro must find some more substantial support which would be more effectual in aiding him to realize greater opportunities in American society.

Supplication Useless

No minority group has ever changed its status in a majority group by supplication and prayer, and it is only able to survive under such conditions as long as conditions warrant a toleration of it. In any southern community where the Negro's position allows the white man to utilize his labor to advantage, he is suffered to remain in comparative peace; but the moment that economic competition threatens and the Negro begins to menace the white's prosperity, the Negro is driven out by mob pressure or by starvation.

Being guided by such principles that make one love one's neighbor, turn the other cheek, and "Take it to the Lord in prayer," avails little when opposition is found in masked men with shotguns, closed factory doors, and farm land without seeds to plant or wheat to make into bread.

In journeying through Georgia, I have seen burned Negro school houses, shacks standing in sorry ruin, from which their black tenants have had to flee, and stolid beasts of colored men who begged for money with which to buy food to appease their hunger.

The queer paradox under these circumstances is that trust in the Lord as a bountiful provider is general throughout the whole South. Preachers, vending humility, head nearly every Negro institution of note here. The Negro newspapers, forgetting that journalism is the profession of protest, are cheaply printed prayer books, having preachers either as publishers or editorial writers, and breathe piety and praise of those that exploit them, rather than constructive and deserved criticism. Preachers head the colleges, and the study of the bible as a guide for behavior is a prerequisite for graduation from most of them. A liberal organization upon any college campus would not be countenanced in most instances, and more stress is laid upon the virtues of christian morality, fundamentally interpreted, than upon the necessity of utilizing knowledge and intelligence in bettering the sad condition of the racial group.

Effective After Slavery

In slavery time, when Negroes could hope for nothing better than death, religion fulfilled its purpose, alleviated the mental torture of the slaves, gave them delusions of immortality and a feeling of being of some value, which enabled them to carry on their lives of toil. Immediately after slavery, the Negro church was a dynamic force in adjusting ex-slaves to the world of capitalistic reality. Today, seventy-one years after we have gained our freedom from the physical bonds of slavery, the church is teaching essentially the same doctrines that it did in that benighted time. These teachings are not only negative in their effect upon the Negro, as they fail to decrease violence, crime, and debauchery among the masses; but also they are in essence, positive in hindering him from gaining any of the objectives for which he yearns.

The church preaches non-violence, long-suffering patience, an out-of-place morality that forbids one to cheat, steal, or to deny Caesar that which Caesar demands.

How any group that is being victimized and oppressed can hope to remedy its condition by humbly consenting to it, and glorying in this consent, is the question that perplexes me. When a mob of maniacs sets out to kill an individual, that individual must practice violence if he wishes to save himself from a horrible death. It would have been tragic indeed for the Negro at Shelbyville, Tennessee, if the guardsmen who had him in custody had been good christians at heart, and had allowed him to be taken without firing a shot in his defense, in somewhat the manner that the "great exemplar" allowed himself to be taken by the Romans some centuries ago.

The time for patience under suffering is over. "Who would be free, must themselves strike the first blow." The Sicilians have a way of dealing with terrorists that it would be well for Negroes to learn. If one of their particular group is killed, there is a death in the group that brought the former death about. White southern idiots would be less hasty in stringing up a Negro, if they knew with a fair degree of certainty, that one of them would soon be assassinated; and after a few such occurrences, the United States government would, without much hesitation, stretch forth its majestic hand to stop the crime of lynching.

A race that is cheated out of land, livelihood, and citizenship should be sensible enough to rebut being victimized by attempting some cheating on its own score.

Damnation Threatened

But this, the colored leaders of southern thought forbid their followers to do, and as they threaten their followers with eternal damnation for attempting so to do, the latter heed them, afraid lest they lose their immortal souls.

There are many reasons why a Preacherocracy, such as the southern Negro labors under, is harmful to his welfare; but greatest among them is the fact that the majority of the colored ministers in control are woefully inadequate as leaders. The average Negro preacher is timorous and poorly-educated, and serves merely as a puppet obedient to the mandates of white southerners who are christian only in the sense of belonging to the church.

What intellectual leader of the Negro

ANTI-LYNCHING PETITIONS

Printed petition forms urging the passage of the Costigan-Wagner federal anti-lynching bill are available at the national office of the N.A.A.C.P. and will be mailed upon request. Address: 69 Fifth avenue, New York, N. Y.

race is at the same time a clergyman? Is Walter White a fundamentalist believer in heaven or hell? Does DuBois believe that faith in the Lord will finally bring the Negro the opportunity to develop into a human being? Does Forrester B. Washington open his classes with a prayer, as do many of the Negro schoolmen in the South? One can count upon the fingers of one hand, the few really enlightened men who hold down pulpits below the line of Jim-Crowism.

Yet in the South, there is a church for every 200 Negroes, and on an average of two preachers for every church. (C. Luther Fry, *America Looks at Its Churches.*) Seventy-three per cent of the adult Negro population of the United States was enrolled in churches in 1933, and the proportion of southerners enrolled was much greater than that of northerners. Over three-fourths of the ministers of these churches have not had the advantage of a seminary education and seven-eighths of those that have attended seminaries went to colored institutions, which Ira De A. Reid, the sociologist, found to be distinctly inferior to white seminaries.

Should the Negro's thought, then, continue to be channelled by poorly educated men's interpretations of an ethical code applicable to the peculiar social problems of a group of people a thousand years ago? The historical position of the Negro in America makes such a situation ludicrous indeed. Yet, such a situation exists, and the black intelligentsia laugh at it, as it is absurdly exhibited by a Micheaux or a Divine, and become a part of it by constant church attendance and by rendering lip service to formalized worship of Jehovah, presumably for the opportunity it gives them to plunder its more sincere adherents.

Militant Leaders Consigned to Hell

The spirit breathed in the following quotation from a community leader in a Georgia city is the spirit that has the Negro in the South "hog-tied," and to my mind, it is the spirit that we, as an oppressed group, must rid ourselves of, if we expect to realize our objective in this society—a 100 per cent citizenship.

"I call upon the colored citizens to turn a deaf ear to all of our self-appointed race leaders who live beyond the Mason-Dixon line, and who send down incendiary literature (THE CRISIS, Opportunity) with the hope of inspiring us to hate our good white friends of the South.

"Such leaders are enemies of our race and will eventually be accommodated with a first-class place in hell.

"The sensible white man and the sensible colored man have always been understanding and friendly, and always will. We need the great white race and the great white race needs the great colored race.

"We have freely given our blood in all of the wars that this nation has fought, and therefore a part of this nation belongs to us. But *we are wise enough to wait until this government sees fit to give us our portion.*

"As we prepare ourselves for the best things in life, in God's own time, He will divinely lead us into our own."

Perhaps the pastor from whose emancipation address the foregoing quotation was taken, really feels that Negroes who exhort other Negroes to try to hasten what God takes so much leisure to accomplish are bound for hell. The sad thing is that all of the Reverend's congregation will follow his advice, and will await, in spite of the hell they exist in, the consummation of the miraculous.

In the South social clubs have an elected chairman whose duty it is to open all meetings with a prayer, convicts on the chain gang sing hymns as they slave their lives away, and children recite bible verses before they learn their ABCs. God is in his heaven, all bow down to him, but all continues wrong with the world.

Perhaps if the Negro put less faith and vigor into worshipping the Lord and devoted more of his energy toward solving the substantial and complex problems that face him, he would gain a few of the blessings he waits to be showered upon him by the heavenly hand.

Meanwhile, upon the barren rock of faith, he has built his temple, and the intuitions of common sense have not prevailed against his position.

Revolt

By MARK FISHER

Some day I shall revolt against the chains
That bind me to conventionalities
And with an ardent spirit that disdains
All things in garb of stark realities
Unyoke the fetters that have held me bound
As fast as those that stayed Prometheus;
Till then my thoughts shall hover near the ground
And know the fate that dogged poor Sisyphus.
I know some men will call this cowardice
And say I shirked the duties brave men love;
But, oh, my cheeks have turned far more than twice
To meet the lethal blow of stone in glove.

The Return

By GEORGIA DOUGLAS JOHNSON

The laws of changeless justice bind
Oppressor with oppressed,
As Saint and sinner, friend and foe
We march to God abreast.

Forty Organizations Denounce Lynching

Forty organizations in Philadelphia, Pa., representing racial, political and religious groups formed themselves into a Cooperative Committee Against Lynching and sponsored a mass meeting for the purpose of educating the public to the dangers and implications of lynching in America and to arouse interest in the Costigan-Wagner anti-lynching bill soon pending in Congress. With the hope that the spirit and zeal of this meeting might be furthered, a Call has been issued to the citizens of this country urging them to enlist themselves in this movement. The Call:

"The reign of mob law within an organized society is a demoralizing influence. It inevitably creates disrespect for all law, upon which a Constitutional Government like ours rests. Passivity to a condition of this kind has upon even yet unborn generations a degenerating effect. Lynching is a crime against civilization which leads to dangerous divisions between groups of citizens. If allowed to continue unchecked, it results in a complete breakdown of all institutions, representing centuries of man's efforts for freedom and basic human rights. This vile form of murder is a by-product of a disease all too prevalent, the roots of which give nourishment to other injustices closely allied.

"We, assembled at this Mass Meeting Against Lynching, in the Friends Meeting House, Fifteenth and Race Streets, Philadelphia, Pa., February 1, 1935, do hereby commit ourselves to work untiringly towards the complete eradication of lynching and the conditions in society which cause this evil. We feel that a first move in this direction is a demand for the immediate enactment of the Costigan-Wagner anti-lynching bill which is now before the Seventy-fourth Congress. Believing that only by united action on the part of all citizens of our nation, can this be accomplished, we call upon them in every community to organize and lend their support to this end."

Oratorical Contest

The third annual oratorical contest of the Upsilon Chi Gamma of the 135th Street Y. M. C. A., New York City, will close April 8. The subjects announced for contestants: The Negro and the New Deal; The Contribution of the Negro to the Arts and Sciences; Is the Negro a Citizen of the United States?; Radicalism and the Negro; The Latin-American World and the Negro.

Italy Takes "Precautionary Measures"

Editorials

On the Defensive

IN the face of what the Chattanooga, Tenn., *Times* calls greater pressure than has been put behind any previous federal anti-lynching bill, it is not surprising to note that the lynchers and their defenders are on the defensive. The house of representatives of the Georgia legislature has become so alarmed that it has passed a resolution against the Costigan-Wagner bill and forwarded it to Washington. Hard upon the heels of the disturbed legislators comes the Rt. Reverend W. A. Candler, bishop of the South Georgia conference of the M. E. Church, South. The good bishop, after reiterating the myth that racial lines are being preserved because they are a "divine plan of God," repeats the old falsehood that lynchers are merely seeking to avenge "repulsive forms of crime," and treats a federal anti-lynching law in these words:

"To transfer this duty and authority for putting down lynching from the states to the federal government is to debilitate and disorder the enforcement of the law by both the state commonwealths and the federal government."

Bishop Candler is an old man, nearly 78. Perhaps the fire and philosophy of the Reconstruction period burns still in him. He doesn't know, or has refused to learn, that people have been and are being lynched, not for repulsive crimes, but for no crime; and that it is not possible to debilitate or disorder the enforcement of law (in the case of lynching) in some state commonwealths, notably his own. It is for these reasons that some of the very people over whom the bishop presides are supporting federal action against lynching. We commend the good dominie to the honest editorial in the Danville, Va., *Register* which opens with the sentence:

"The case for the Wagner-Costigan bill . . . has been built on the long experience of failure of the states to cope effectively with the crime and its criminals."

There is the proposition in a nutshell. No northerners or easterners are forcing the enactment of a federal anti-lynching law. The very states which cry now against intervention have made a perfect case against themselves. Lynching has come to be recognized for what it always has been—a crime against our whole organized society, a shame and a disgrace upon all our people before the world, a blot upon our nation's honor. As such it cannot be left to the discretion of isolated communities. There must be some pressure brought upon the local populations and their officials by the nation itself, for it is the nation which is being injured and outraged far more than the hapless victim of the mob.

The States Have Had Their Chance

AS stalwart as it has been in condemning lynching, and as sincere and painstaking as has been its editor in studying and preaching against the crime, THE CRISIS cannot agree with the Chattanooga *Times* when it cries despairingly: "May the government at Washington give the people a chance to solve this problem." The people who could have stopped lynching have had their chance—more than a half-century—to stop it. Despite the growth of a considerable anti-lynching sentiment in the South, the forces of mob rule have proved their superiority in every crucial contest.

THE CRISIS and the public opinion supporting the move to enact a federal anti-lynching bill welcome the increasing support from the liberal South as evidenced by editorials in important journals, by petitions and letters from white college students and educators, by letters and deeds of clergymen, club women and churchwomen. We join them in the belief that this law, if enacted, will speed the process of educating local public opinion, rather than develop antagonism. This is the end to be desired, but no conscientious student of lynching can set down honestly that it is likely to come about unaided by outside pressure.

The Precautions of Il Duce

PURELY as "precautionary measures" Premier Benito Mussolini is dispatching 50,000 troops to Africa, scores of bombing planes, shiploads of engineers and engineering supplies, and artillery. Another precaution is the announcement that Italy is prepared to spend 850 millions of dollars and two years in a war against Ethiopia—and that seven million men can be mustered into the army. Naturally Il Duce was enraged (so his press agent said) when he heard that Ethiopia was mobilizing a few thousand troops along its borders, *on its own native soil*. What can be the matter with those Ethiopians? Don't they know the meaning of "precautionary measures"?

Sounding Brass

GENERAL Hugh S. Johnson, Senator "Kingfish" Huey P. Long of Louisiana, and Father Charles E. Coughlin, the radio economics-preaching priest of Royal Oak, Mich., are having a merry time of it over the radio, in the newspapers and in the Senate chamber calling each other names and prescribing their panaceas for the ills which beset the nation. While he headed the NRA General Johnson never once went into the question of the special exploitation of the Negro worker.

Father Coughlin, as we have remarked here before, is forming a national union of social justice which, so far, has been as mum as the proverbial oyster upon the subject of Negro rights. As for the Kingfish, he is full of jokes on the radio about "po' niggahs."

There you are folks. "You pays your money and you takes your choice!"

Virgin Islands Get Taste of Mississippi

THE blessings of Mississippi justice are being brought to the Virgin Islands by Judge T. Webber Wilson, a Mississippian appointed to his post through the regular political route. He is said to have been urged upon the administration by Postmaster General Farley and Senator Pat Harrison. Apparently his only qualification was that he "had to be taken care of."

In the case of a native Virgin Islander, Judge Wilson refused to abide by the decision of the prosecutor to *nolle pros* the case and discharge the defendant. He, himself, placed the man upon the stand, questioned him, found him guilty, and fined him, not omitting to lecture him (in typical Mississippi fashion) upon the efficacy of prayer to expiate his "sins." Remember, the state attorney moved to discharge the case, the defendant had no lawyer. The judge himself became complainant, prosecutor, judge and jury. The case is being appealed.

The government of the United States has no right to inflict upon the Virgin Islands the Judge Wilson type of Mississippi civilization. It may seem strange for THE CRISIS to say so, but we believe even Mississippi can furnish a much higher grade of man than Judge Wilson has proved to be.

Down with Unions!

(*Continued from page* 103)

Arlo Moore, William Cassidy and myself) with the intricate beauties of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, but our wits were too dull to perceive anything in their brilliant chatter other than the fact that the abiding qualification for membership is the continual payment of dues.

We frowned when Sam Glassman was unable to explain lucidly why, under his own local's domination, he permitted discrimination against the colored girls employed at the LaMode Dress Shop and their final discharge; why other union shops were exclusively white; why a worker should not be kept in good standing without the payment of dues during such time as the union could not, or would not, live up to its vaunted promise to insure comparatively steady employment; and why the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union had suddenly decided it could not do without us. Instead of acceptable answers, we were fed the rather touching allegory that unionism was born in the same manger that first cradled the movement to abolish slavery. But Abolition is not complete, nor is infant unionism something its mother would recognize. So, though we wept, what of it?

Golden, glittering promises! But our memories served us well. We had not forgotten the unsuccessful fight made by Negro leaders to have Chicago unions permit certified and state-licensed steam fitters and plumbers of our group to work on our own Provident Hospital. We had not forgotten the many high-salaried positions closed to us by unions. We had not forgotten that within a local shop colored girls had to wait inordinately long for their work.

Union Voted Down

Little wonder, then, that I scrutinize with favor our present non-unionized condition, and point with pride to William Norman, a Negro and head of Sopkin's pattern department; to William Cassidy, Negro, expert cutter and chairman of our section's representation committee; to Arlo Moore, dark-skinned chief of goods checking; to Miss Jennie Lawrence, probably the only colored woman serving a large firm as director of employment; to Mrs. Cassidy, on whose capable shoulders has been placed the responsibility of instructing operators and floor-ladies; and to the seven hundred other efficient black men and women serving so well in their various roles. Proudly I state that among us are high school graduates, college graduates, ex-school teachers, former nurses. Surely Miss Edwards meant another group when she wrote that we are unskilled, uninformed, ignorant, sheep-like slaves of an unscrupulous employer.

Most assuredly we do not feel any back-bending and servile gratitude toward Mr. Sopkin as a man. But we reserve the right to be loyal to an organization which has kept us when other employers found it necessary to discharge Negro labor at the inception of minimum wages. We realize that we are men and women, not chattel, and that we are honestly and capably filling our places in a great concern.

For these reasons, in uninfluenced and secret balloting, we voted 799 to 29 against the union so warmly advocated by Sam Glassman, Frank Crosswaith, and Thyra Edwards.

When Miss Edwards can show us a sound reason for choosing the man who collects fifty cents a week *because* we work rather than the man who pays us *for* working; when Miss Edwards can demonstrate her theory that union leaders are white-armored Galahads self-dedicated to our protection, then will we submit—*maybe!* But until that day, Miss Edwards, we are going to remain very militantly and very shamelessly opposed to anything smelling of unionism.

* * *

As a sample of the opinion some Chicago garment workers have of the union, the following letter from one of them has been forwarded to THE CRISIS:

To WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:—My reason for writing this letter is to state the reasons why I strongly oppose the union.

I had been employed by the La Mode Garment Company about eight months when we were surprised one morning by a large body of men and women telling us that a strike had been called, and we weren't working. Overlooking their threat we went to work anyway. This continued for about a week, then one day a shop meeting was called and was finally brought to a close with the information that the shop had to be unionized.

I joined this so-called union that was to bring shorter hours, more wages and *a steady job*. Everything went off fine for a while. Then one day, one by one every colored girl was called in the office and asked our opinion about our colored forelady; this little incident was ended by the colored girls being confronted by a white forelady the following week.

After that we, meaning the colored girls, were sent home regularly. When asked the reason for being sent home, we were told there wasn't enough work, while the white section was running full force. This continued until we were told not to report to work until called. That naturally caused us to turn to our supporters, the union, and there we were surprised to learn that we colored girls were being thrown out in a *nice* way. But the union promised to take the matter to court as soon as the judge returned, but this so-called "judge" failed to return and so did the colored girls.

After waiting for so long a time for the union to find me *a good steady* job, I took it upon myself to find my own work, which resulted in my being employed by H. A. Satin & Co. And to my surprise practically the same thing happened there only we weren't put out all at once, but one by one in such a *nice* way. There was fault found with everything. We colored girls would actually have to wait from thirty to forty-five minutes for work, in other words until the others were given work first. This naturally caused us to fall behind in our day's work and finally from about a group of over two hundred girls only seventy-five or eighty remained.

This is actually my experience and may I say before closing *Down with the Union* and the International Garment Workers organization.

Respectfully yours,
LUCILE FARRINGTON
4152 Prairie Avenue
Chicago, Ill.
February 22, 1935

Fascism

(*Continued from page* 107)

redress in the courts. Under Fascism he will become a beggar and a pariah. He will be a twin brother to every Indian untouchable now held down by the combined efforts of native princes and British overlords.

Recently, in the city of Cleveland, the public was stirred by reports of an investigation conducted by a mysterious "Secret Seven," working under authority of the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce. This invisible body of alleged patriots has delivered a broadside against every manifestation of nineteenth century liberalism. It will require no effort for the identical body of sleuths to assail Negroes and their white associates in the N.A.A.C.P. or in other progressive bodies, who might feel inclined to protest against federal housing plans that aim to establish segregation. With Fascism once established, hostility voiced against the growing erection of physical, racial barriers will be as ridiculous a deed as a complaint against the laws of the solar system.

Let the Negro in America acquaint himself fully with the philosophy of Fascism. Let him find out for himself how it has deprived Italy and Germany of all claims to leadership in human culture. Then let the aroused black man join wholeheartedly with the growing anti-Fascist elements which are slowly but surely uniting to check the spread of a revived medievalism. His alternative is a slavery that will make the antebellum days of the last century appear like paradise.

49th STATE?

Is the establishment of a 49th State for Negroes exclusively a proper solution for the race problem? Read the May CRISIS, out April 22.

From the Press of the Nation

Editorial of the Month

No Special Bureaus

Los Angeles *Sentinel*

Pending before Congress are two bills to establish a Negro Industrial Commission. The bills would empower this commission to investigate all matters of special interest to Negroes and make recommendations. The bills appear fair enough on their faces but in reality they attempt to reduce the Negro to the status of the Indian by making him a ward of the government.

The Negro Industrial Commission would correspond with the Bureau of Indian Affairs. It would become a buffer between what Negroes really want and what those in control want them to have. As citizens, Negroes are not in need of any special commission or bureau. What they need is the right to exercise fundamental rights supposedly guaranteed them by the constitution. Special rights breed special discriminations. The bills should be defeated.

Down in Oklahoma it seems that a horse has been lynched. Not many details are given in the news report, but presumably it was for the usual crime.—Decatur, Ill., *Herald and Review.*

Despite the fact that this week Civil Judge Cage, in handing down a decision in a case involving the denial of a white applicant for registration several months ago, voiced the opinion that the "understanding clause" was never meant to be applied to white men seeking to register, but only to be invoked when a Negro attempted the act, we are of the opinion that this rule of the reconstruction period does not now survive locally. Our opinion is strengthened by reports emanating from the local register's office that Negroes are registering daily in increasing numbers.—Louisiana *Weekly.*

Even if Italy and Abyssinia kiss and make up, the latter had better emulate Japan in developing her military resources.—Cincinnati *Union.*

Of the 46,250 additional men to be recruited in the regular army, it should be the duty of Negro leaders and organizations throughout the nation to ascertain just how the race is to figure in this proposed expansion. Will a new Negro regiment be organized? Will some of the famous fighting units whose members are now serving as hostlers and menials at West Point and elsewhere be reorganized to full strength? These are pertinent questions which should be asked at this time and not when it is too late, as so often is the case.—New York *Age.*

The war between Abyssinia and Italy, if it does come, will have to be fought without me.

This decision will no doubt have little effect either one way or the other so far as defeat or victory is concerned.

This is merely to notify all and sundry that, personally, I prefer to remain a professional non-combatant.

The mere similarity in color is not sufficient incentive for me to rush half-way across the world to join up with the warring hosts of the King of Judah and have myself blown to smithereens just to indulge my pugnacious spirit on the altar of pigmentation.—Ralph Matthews for the *Afro-American.*

Pittsburgh school officials announce that they are now ready to interview colored applicants for teaching positions in the local school system.

This has not happened because of any sudden whim on the part of the school officials. It has happened because prominent colored Pittsburghers fought for it.

Uncle Tom Negroes being fairly numerous, there will be the usual agitation to "have a school of our own manned by the race from top to bottom" or to "be satisfied" if Jim crow schools are surreptitiously introduced by concentrating Negro teachers in one or two schools and then gradually transferring Negro pupils there and white pupils away from there.

This is exactly NOT the thing to do. It will be no gain to the colored people. What Negroes everywhere in the North must stand out strongly for is a genuine mixed school system, both teachers and pupils. Or to put it another way: they must demand exactly the same treatment and consideration received by other American citizens.—Pittsburgh *Courier.*

The plight of the native African as depicted by the Rev. Mr. Fletcher is indeed a challenge to the Christian Church. He hints at what is almost common knowledge—that the natives are forced to live under a system that represses and degrades them. Yet the Christian Church is silent. When will the church awake to its task of speaking for the oppressed and outcast of every land, no matter what the color of their skin may be?—*Africo-American Presbyterian,* Charlotte, N. C.

Speaking of our people's refusal in Pittsburgh to accept "Colored teachers on the basis of separate schools," Kelly Miller says "they have permitted a theory to outweigh a condition." Better never have a "Colored teacher" than to have separate schools, segregation! The latter would banefully affect all of our people in that city in order that a few "Colored teachers" might be benefitted, financially. In plain words, Kelly Miller would have a vital principle, that affects all the people, violated in order to place a few or more "Colored teachers." All his mature life he has taught in a separate school. This explains his inability to see the real point at issue and to feel that our people of Pittsburgh have permitted "a theory to outweigh a condition." As a matter of fact, the "theory" is a thousand times more important to them than the condition he refers to.—*The Gazette,* Cleveland, O.

The senate judiciary sub-committee before which the Costigan-Wagner anti-lynching bill is being heard should have been much impressed with the testimony of Congresswoman Caroline O'Day (Democrat) of New York, who asserted that lynching is uncivilized and largely responsible for the loss of American prestige abroad.—Chicago *Defender.*

The cruelties of a cold, Siberian prison were refreshed in our mind when we read with horror of the inhuman punishment meted out to two Negro youths for the trivial infraction of some rule of the prison camp to which they had been sentenced for no very grave offense. . . .

It appears that there should be a thorough investigation of this case with a view of changing the barbarous penal system of North Carolina. . . .—*The Star of Zion.*

Crawford

(*Continued from page* 105)

Mrs. Ilsley's Brother

Immediately after the motions to quash were heard, Houston on November 6, 1933, held a conference with Judge McLemore and the Commonwealth attorneys in which he told the judge of the rumors which had come to the defense connecting the name of Mrs. Ilsley's brother with the murders. He advised the judge that it was a serious and distasteful thing to charge any man with the murder of his sister, but that as Crawford's counsel he would be compelled to do so if it was properly a part of Crawford's defense; and that in order not to make the charge on rumor alone, he proposed that the Commonwealth permit him to interview its witnesses in the presence of the Commonwealth attorneys, so that if the brother was not implicated his name would not be dragged into the case. The judge and Commonwealth attorneys agreed. (Miss Gruening in her article January 8, 1935, in the *New Masses* complains that Houston and Ransom did not mention their investigation of the brother in their article on the Crawford case in *The Nation*, July 4, 1934. Houston and Ransom's position is that since their investigation of the crime seemed to vindicate rather than implicate Mrs. Ilsley's brother, there was no need in bringing his name into a public discussion.)

The first interview arranged for the defense by the Commonwealth was with Bertie DeNeal, Crawford's sweetheart, who was then being held in jail as a material witness. She was interviewed in the presence of the sheriff, and told a story wholly inconsistent with the alibi theory. Her story was that Crawford had left Boston with her in December and had come as far as Washington where they separated; that she had spent the day with him December 26, 1931 in Jack Skinner's stable; that she had received a letter from him shortly after New Year's Day postmarked Richmond, Va.; and that a dark-skinned colored boy had come to her house in Middleburg with a note from Crawford asking for some food on the day of the murders.

Admits Alibi Was False

When Crawford was confronted with her story he admitted that his Boston alibi had been false, and gave counsel a story as to his movements around Washington and Virginia from the time he reached Washington with Bertie until after the time of the murders. Counsel did not accept either Bertie's story or Crawford's, but checked back over every place where Crawford said he had been except the house of Pat Harrison in Richmond. The final link came about December 2, 1933. Crawford had told counsel that after the murders he and Charles Johnson, his companion, had stayed at 1616 Third Street, Northwest, Washington, D. C. and that he had left some clothes there. Counsel went to the address and obtained the clothes. Miss Gruening insinuates that all the witnesses who testified in Virginia were either coached, lying or intimidated; but she can hardly make this claim about the clothes which Crawford left and which Crawford subsequently told counsel where they could be located. Crawford now admits the clothes were his, but has changed his story as to when they were abandoned. In an interview with representatives of the press in the penitentiary in Richmond, February 28, 1935, he stated he had left them at the house when he and Bertie returned from Boston. In a letter to Miss Boardman, March 3, 1935, he stated he had left the clothes in Washington a year before the murders. But in an interview with George B. Murphy of the *Afro-American* and Miss Martha Strayer of the Washington *Daily News*, March 1, 1935, Mrs. Lessie Hedgepeth who lives at 1616 Third Street, stated that Crawford had left the clothes there shortly after the murders. She identified the clothes and further identified Crawford by his pictures which she had seen in the newspapers at the time he had been brought back from Virginia.

The Boston Alibi Checked

About November 29, 1933, Ransom

I, George Crawford of Boston Massachusetts, do hereby appoint Charles H. Houston of Washington in the District of Columbia, my true and lawful attorney, for me and in my stead and name to appear and act for me in all legal matters whatsoever both civil and criminal, at law and in equity, in both State and United States Courts and for me and in my name and stead to appear in, manage, fully control, prosecute and conduct to its conclusion in the Courts of the State of Virginia and all other Courts to which it may be appealed or transferred, any charge bassed upon indictment or other process, in the courts of Virginia or any other courts, now pending or to be brought against me, with power irrevocable in the premisses for me and in my stead to do every thing that I could do.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF I have hereunto set my hand and seal this twenty-fourth day of October A.D. 1933

In presence of

Butler R. Wilson } George Crawford

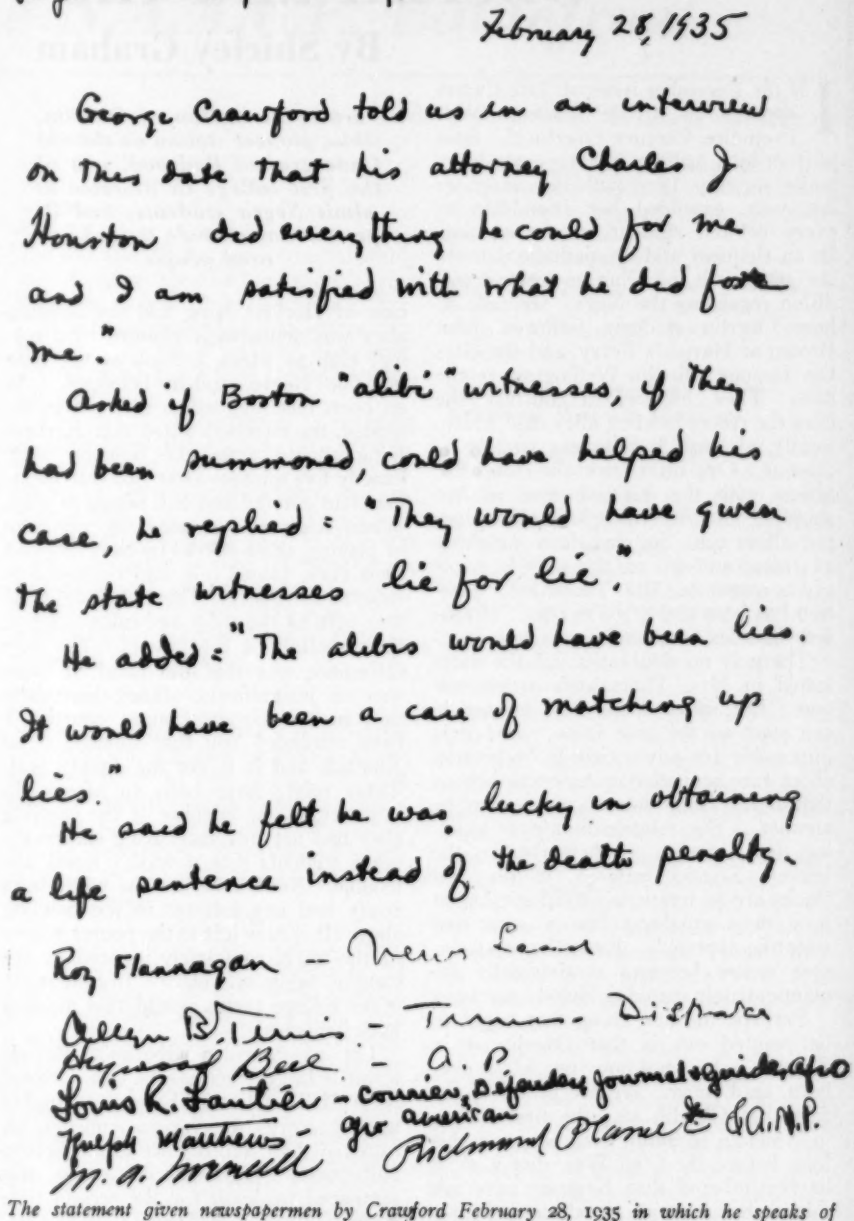
To Re Warden:
Please let Charles H Houston, Edward P. Lovett, James G Tyson or Leon A. Ransom interview George Crawford.
26 October 1933
John Wallace

It was not until October 24, 1933 that Houston and his associates secured a power of attorney

and Tyson went to Boston to interview the alibi witnesses, obtain a copy of the alleged confession (which Houston did not have), investigate the circumstances under which the alleged confession had been obtained, and make a final effort to locate Finch. Previous arrangements had been made by Houston with a friend of his, Julian D. Rainey, an assistant corporation counsel of the city of Boston, to have the use of his law office in interviewing the witnesses, and Rainey had promised to make the contacts with the witnesses if furnished ahead of time with a list.

Accordingly a list had been furnished him November 15, 1933. Rainey notified the witnesses in due time but when Ransom and Tyson reached his office November 30, only two witnesses showed up: Basil Hutchings, the undertaker in whose boiler room Crawford was supposed to be sleeping at the time the murders were committed, and Dr. Ernest Louis, who operates a drugstore on Tremont street near the Hutchings undertaking parlors. Hutchings stated that he had some day books which might help fix the time when Crawford was about his establishment, so an appointment was made to meet Hutchings at his place of business that evening at 8:00 o'clock. Dr. Louis stated that he could not place Crawford in Boston until the latter part of January, 1932, but would locate Augustus Rogers and Irving Washington, and have them at his drugstore for Ransom and Tyson to interview that evening at 8:30 o'clock. Dr. Louis had Rogers and Washington at his drugstore as arranged, but Ransom and Tyson got engaged with Hutchings and failed to get to Louis' drugstore. The next two days they spent in running down the circumstances under which the alleged confession had been taken, trying to locate Deacon Anthony Bailey who had been an important alibi witness at the extradition hearings and two young men named Arthur and Robert Roosa who had worked for Hutchings around 1931 and 1932.

On December 2, 1932, Ransom and Tyson wired Houston for instructions advising him that few contacts had been made. In the face of all the evidence indicating that Crawford had really been in Virginia and not in Boston at the time of the murders, further a new supplemental jury list having been drawn in Virginia which had to be investigated, with the trial only ten days away, Houston wired back that there was no use remaining behind for any witnesses except Finch and Roosa, to see the jail officers and other officers and hurry back. In the rush of things Ransom and Tyson failed to report on their appointment with Dr. Louis, and failure to see Washington and Rogers. Houston



Virginia State penitentiary, Richmond, Va.
February 28, 1935

George Crawford told us in an interview on this date that his attorney Charles J Houston did everything he could for me and I am satisfied with what he did for me."

Asked if Boston "alibi" witnesses, if they had been summoned, could have helped his case, he replied: "They would have given the state witnesses lie for lie."

He added: "The alibis would have been lies. It would have been a case of matching up lies."

He said he felt he was lucky in obtaining a life sentence instead of the death penalty.

Roy Flannagan – News Leader
Allen B. Tennis – Times-Dispatch
Heywood Beel – A. P.
Louis R. Lautier – Courier, Defender, Journal & Guide, A.P.
Rudolph Matthews – Afro American
M. A. Morrell – Richmond Planet & A.N.P.

The statement given newspapermen by Crawford February 28, 1935 in which he speaks of the Boston alibi

knew nothing of this phase of the matter until Misses Gruening and Boardman confronted him with the statement of Dr. Louis in May, 1934.

Boeing Story Re-checked

On the matter of the possible participation of the brother in the case, counsel had two interviews with Magistrate Roy Seaton, one of the first two persons to see the bodies after the brother had discovered them. They sent to Milwaukee and got a certified copy of Mrs. Ilsley's will, which gave him less than one-fifth of her fairly modest estate. They attempted unsuccessfully to trace her insurance policies. They interviewed all the Washington police who worked on the case, except Sergeant Dennis Murphy who refused to be interviewed. They checked the rumors of mutilation by obtaining certified death records from Richmond, and interviewed Mr. Buckner, husband of the murdered Mrs. Buckner, and one of the Washington undertakers who had handled the bodies. In addition, Crawford steadily maintained that the murders had been committed by his companion Charles Johnson, a Negro, that

(*Continued on page* 125)

Oberlin and the Negro

By Shirley Graham

Further discussion of Oberlin, Ohio, pioneer station on the old Underground Railroad, seat of the first college in America to admit Negro students, and its present-day attitude toward colored people

IN the December issue of THE CRISIS appears an article headed, "Will Prejudice Capture Oberlin?" It is written by a brilliant white woman who, while she was here with her daughter last year, extended her friendship to every colored student on the campus. In an eloquent and sympathetic manner she sets forth the Oberlin pre-war tradition regarding the Negro, she tells of how Oberlin students followed John Brown at Harper's Ferry, and she cites the famous Oberlin-Wellington rescue case. Then, by way of contrast, she cites the recent bowling alley case which, locally, at least, has become equally as famous. One infers that she closes her article with the question used as her subject. But American journalism does not allow time for judicious weighing of facts; and so, on the outside cover of the magazine, Mrs. Thomason's question has been converted to read, "Prejudice Invades Oberlin."

There is no doubt that all the facts stated in Mrs. Thomason's article are true. But, unfortunately, no one article can state all the true facts. And it is impossible for any article to be written about race prejudice in America without that article being colored in one way or another. The relationships now existing in America, particularly in the United States, between whites and blacks are so irrational, so illogical, that they defy anything like a sane and scientific approach. Even the most sincere writer becomes sentimentally romantic, tritely stupid or bitterly sarcastic.

Perhaps the first thing that ought to be pointed out is that Oberlin *is* in America. It is not now, nor has it ever been, an Utopia. We are proud of the fact that Oberlin was the first college in America to admit Negroes, and this long before the Civil War; but it must be remembered that Negroes were admitted because one much-needed professor, holding in his hands a bequest of seventy-five hundred dollars, sent word that he would not come nor should the school have this money unless Negroes were admitted. Even under these conditions he only won his case by a one-vote majority! One determined, fiery, young Abolitionist threw open these college doors to us. So it has been, so it is now and so, in all probability, it will be. Not all the students took part in the Wellington rescue, but enough did to make that rescue effective.

Traditions Are Not Dead

Oberlin's traditions are not dead. The case of Herbert King and the bowling alley was deliberately planned by a college club to which I think at the time not one Negro student belonged. At an open meeting, which this writer attended, the members voted that Herbert King should enter the bowling alley exactly five minutes after two club members had entered and had begun to play. When King was refused the privilege of playing, these two white boys dropped their cues, joined him and immediately went to the police. The club fought the case with all the ardor and enthusiasm of their abolitionist forefathers. The only difference was that the point at issue was so insignificant. They lost their case in the Lorain County courts. I have reminded you that Oberlin is in America and it is not the county seat. There might have been an aftermath, however, in the burning of the bowling alley had not this same King shown the other students that it wasn't worth the trouble. Neither he nor the white boys really had any interest in the bowling alley. It is now left to the poorer whites of the town, completely ignored by the campus, white and black. In how many other college towns would this incident have happened?

Let us consider Oberlin's attitude towards larger race issues. In a recent issue of THE CRISIS Langston Hughes bitterly scores the various colleges because of their indifference in the Scottsboro case. Heywood Patterson was sentenced to death for the second time April 9, 1933. On April 11, 1933 a letter of protest went to the President of the United States signed by every Negro on Oberlin campus and endorsed by President Wilkins. The letter began, "We, the Negro students of Oberlin College, Conservatory and the Graduate School of Theology, . . ."

It closed with the following paragraphs:

"We are all students in good standing in this institution which for one hundred years has stood for the highest ideals of American and Christian citizenship. We are proud of the fact that, in the building of this great commonwealth, Oberlin graduates have played no small part. We have come to this institution because we wish to pattern our lives after the example of Oberlin men and women who have gone before. We are preparing ourselves to make our contribution for a better, finer America.

"Today, in the face of this second Scottsboro decision, we are wondering if the untold sacrifices of our fathers and mothers have been worth while. They, who have waited so long and so patiently, have told us that a better day is coming, that the justice of an Almighty God would prevail in this land.

"In the name of Crispus Attucks, Negro, first man to shed his blood for American liberty on Boston Commons; in the name of thousands of black students who have expected to defend and raise the flag of the United States, we ask justice for this our weaker, less fortunate Brother."

In May, a protest meeting was held at the James Brand House. Money was raised and students joined the Scottsboro Defense League. The following December a huge protest meeting was held in Finney Chapel. More money was raised. The writer turned in nearly five dollars given her in quarters and half dollars by students. Telegrams of protest were sent in the name of the college, faculty and students. The last protest meeting was held this month (December), at which time the National Student League presented Miss Maude White.

Village Problem Economic

The "problem" in the village of Oberlin is an economic, not a racial one. Fully eighty-five per cent of those on the town relief at present are Negroes. Fair minded people realize that the Negroes themselves are hardly to be blamed. In many ways Oberlin has been less affected by the depression than most towns of its size. There are here no factories or canneries to close. The college is the entire business of the town, and it goes on about as usual. But colored workmen and domestic help have

(*Continued on page 124*)

Separate State Hokum

That is the title of an article in the May issue by George S. Schuyler. Order your copy now, or send in your subscription so as not to miss a single issue.

Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

Escapes Noose; Near Death From Torture (see Cover)

The three men shown on the cover are Ed Brown, Yank Ellington and Henry Shields, of Kemper county, Mississippi, who were saved from the gallows February 8 by intervention of the N.A.A.C.P., which employed lawyers to appeal the case to the United States supreme court if necessary.

Note that Ellington, in the center, is being held up by his two companions. That is because he is nearly dead from the torture he received when a "confession" was forced out of him. He was beaten and hanged a little at a time to make him confess. As a result his neck is damaged and he is injured so severely otherwise that he cannot sit up alone.

According to word from the lawyers, Ellington (on March 12 as this is written) was not expected to live but a few days. A request that he be sent from the Hinds county jail in Jackson, Miss., to a hospital under guard, for treatment was refused by the Kemper county authorities who said the county could not pay the expense of having a special guard at the hospital. Ellington is likely to die in jail before final legal action on his appeal can be taken.

Brown and Shields also were beaten brutally by the county officers to make them confess to killing Raymond Stewart, a white tenant farmer. The so-called confessions constituted the only evidence against them. The manner of their treatment so aroused Judge W. A. Anderson of the Mississippi supreme court to which their conviction was appealed that, although the other judges voted to affirm the death sentence, he wrote a dissenting opinion stating the defendants ought to be discharged. In scorching language Judge Anderson scored the brutality and the evidence of it in the trial record. It was because of this strong dissent that the N.A.A.C.P. took up the case. Funds are badly needed by the national office for this and other legal cases pending. Practically all funds for this case must be raised outside of Mississippi. Immediate action is needed from the public if these three farm workers are to be given a chance at life.

Costigan-Wagner Bill Approved by Committee

The Costigan-Wagner anti-lynching bill passed through another stage successfully March 11 when it was approved and voted out favorably by the Senate Judiciary committee.

It is now necessary to keep up a drum fire upon the individual senators to get the bill placed on the calendar for a vote. If senators have already been written and have pledged to vote for the bill, they should be written again and told the bill has now come favorably out of committee and they should bring influence to bear to get it up for a vote.

It is most important that letters continue to go to President Roosevelt, urging him to put White House pressure behind the bill.

Letters to Washington are being speeded from the Kansas City area by the practice of *The Call,* of printing the names of all who write letters supporting the bill.

Petitions are being sent in and the most interesting one of all came from Louisiana State University of Baton Rouge, La., the institution said to be controlled by Senator Huey Long. It contained 27 names.

Petitions Ready

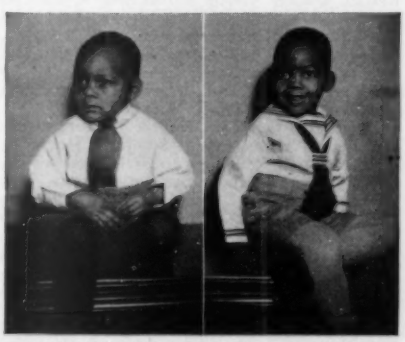
Printed petition forms for the anti-lynching bill are now available at the national office of the N.A.A.C.P. and can be secured by writing 69 Fifth Avenue, New York. It is desired to roll up hundreds of thousands of names to be forwarded to President Roosevelt.

Second 1935 Lynching

Anderson Ward was dragged from jail at Maringouin, La., February 24 and lynched. He had been arrested after defending himself in a fight with a white man who drew a gun on him. A mob gathered upon hearing of the fight and took the law into their own hands. The first lynching of the year took place also in Louisiana at Franklinton on January 11. Jerome Wilson, who had just been granted a new trial by the state supreme court, was shot to death in his cell by a mob which invaded the jail.

Senator Huey P. ("Kingfish") Long last spring in blocking consideration of the Costigan-Wagner bill in the senate said:

"This is a matter for the states. We know how to handle lynching in Louisiana. There hasn't been a lynching in Louisiana since I became governor."



ALBERT AND HOWARD COLEMAN
Winners in Salt Lake City, Utah Branch Contest

Seek Back Wages for Arkansas Women Workers

A test case which, if won, will mean the payment of about $5,900 back wages to discharged colored and white women garment workers in Forrest City, Ark., is being prepared by attorneys acting for the N.A.A.C.P. The workers were paid less than the code wages and finally "laid off" by the Maid Well Garment factory at Forrest City last year. (See details in THE CRISIS for December, 1934).

Early in March, John P. Davis, secretary of the Joint Committee on National Recovery, acting for the N.A.A.C.P., went to Arkansas, secured affidavits from several colored and two white women workers and placed the legal case in the hands of Attorneys Scipio A. Jones, J. R. Booker and J. A. Hibbler of Little Rock, who will file suit in the federal district court for the recovery of the difference between what the women were paid after the code went into effect and the scale called for by the code.

Mr. Davis appeared before the regional labor board in Dallas, Tex., March 12 and his complaints filed there resulted in the taking away of the Blue Eagle from the Maid Well factory and the ordering of criminal proceedings by the labor board itself against the owner for violation of the code.

Victory in School Case

The little Monrovia, Calif., N.A.A.C.P. branch has just won a victory in its fight against the attempt of school officials to set up separate schools in the town. The lawyer retained by the branch, who has fought the case brilliantly for over a year is Thomas L. Griffith, president of the Los Angeles N.A.A.C.P. branch. The present victory was a reversal by the Appellate Court of a decision finding a colored parent guilty for not sending his child to a school which the parent maintained was unsafe following an earthquake in 1933. Thirteen other colored parents have held their children out of school,

being denied permission to send them to another school whose student body is largely white. The parents declare this is an attempt to force colored and Mexican children into a separate school. The Appellate Court ordered a new trial for the defendant.

Desperate Need for Funds

The national office is urging branches to conduct careful and thorough spring membership campaigns because of the great need of funds to carry on the anti-lynching fight, the investigation of conditions in the National Recovery Program and proper legal defense. Every membership secured aids in financing the most necessary work of the national association. One of the most important cases is the suit to recover back wages for women garment workers deprived of their just wages by a factory in Arkansas. Another important legal defense case is that of the three cotton farm workers in Mississippi. Of course, the campaign for the anti-lynching bill is in desperate need of funds and there is danger that the support needed for the passage of this bill cannot be rallied effectively unless more funds are secured at once. Branches are urged to conduct intensive spring membership campaigns and to forward the money without delay to the national office.

Branch News

Reverend George G. Walker delivered the principal address for the **Little Rock., Ark.**, branch February 10 in a program honoring Frederick Douglass.

Mrs. F. Katherine Bailey, president of the **Marion, Ind.**, branch and the Indiana State conference, was the principal speaker at the Junior N.A.A.C.P. forum February 13 in observance of Negro History Week. Miss Clara Hornaday rendered a solo and Miss Lucille Smith presided.

The **Newton, Kan.**, branch held a Lincoln day program February 12 at the A.M.E. church and at the conclusion listened to the speeches of Senators Edward P. Costigan and Robert F. Wagner on the anti-lynching bill over the radio. The Reverend C. V. Williams presided; Aldace Mercomes gave the Gettysburg Address; the Reverend W. L. Robertson spoke on Lincoln; Miss Ruthobel Rickman rendered a piano solo; the Reverend G. A. Holler spoke on the history of the N.A.A.C.P.. Miss Clara Dickinson rendered a violin solo and Jack Smith a harmonical solo; the Reverend Fred Smith made a short address and a male quartet sang.

The **San Antonio, Tex.**, branch held memorial services February 10 in honor of Frederick Douglass, Wright Cuney and Booker T. Washington. J. R. Morris, Cr., was master of ceremonies; Q. B. Mitchell spoke on Wright Cuney; J. O. Robinson on Frederick Douglass and Valmo C. Bellinger on Booker T. Washington; a brief talk was given by C. A. Whittier, president of the branch; music was rendered by a chorus from the Grant Douglass Junior and Wheatley Senior schools and St. Phillips Junior college.

The **Hartford, Conn.**, branch adopted a formal resolution urging passage of the Costigan-Wagner bill at its meeting February 12.

Mrs. Benjamin Zeigerman addressed the **Chester, Pa.**, branch February 6 on "The Place of Minorities Under the Sun." E. C. Wright spoke on the need of interracial meetings. Musical numbers were rendered by the Dunbar quartet and Miss Hortense Temple.

A Young Men s Sunday with an appropriate program was held February 17 by the **Cheyenne, Wyo.**, branch.

The **El Paso, Tex.**, branch held a Lincoln-Douglass program February 12. James Walker spoke on Lincoln and Mrs. Louisa Walker on Douglass. A. G. Russell spoke on the history of the N.A.A.C.P. L. W. Washington is president of the branch.

Under the auspices of the **Kansas City, Kan.**, branch and the Y.W.C.A., an interracial meeting was held February 10 in the Chamber of Commerce auditorium with Dr. Clyde W. Odum, pastor of the London Heights M. E. church as the principal speaker. Dr. Dudley M. Clagett presided. A brief talk on the N.A.A.C.P. was given by G. A. Gregg. The Junior College trio and the choir of the Mason Memorial M. E. church rendered music.

The **Council Bluffs, Ia.**, branch held a Lincoln-Douglass program February 12 with S. Joe Brown of Des Moines as the principal speaker.

A mass meeting to protest lynching and urge passage of the Costigan-Wagner bill was held February 24 by the **Akron, O.**, branch with the Reverend Harold L. Lunger and C. E. Dickinson as speakers. A chorus directed by Floy Debnan Dunbar with Edith Player Brown as accompanist and Elmer Johnson soloist rendered music.

The Junior division of the **Cleveland, O.**, branch sponsored a meeting February 17 as a climax of Negro History Week. Harold H. Burton, former acting mayor of Cleveland, spoke on "Race Relations in Our Public Schools."

The **Montgomery, W. Va.**, branch sponsored a Negro History program February 10.

A Lincoln-Douglass program was given February 12 by the **Deloit, Wis.**, branch with Dr. W. H. Marshall and John Reneau as speakers.

In connection with the February meeting of the **Charleston, W. Va.**, branch the fourth annual youth movement sponsored by the College Alumnae Club was held with Mrs. R. P. Sims as speaker.

So insistent has been the public demand that the "Brown Skin Revue," presented by the **Terre Haute, Ind.**, branch some months ago, was repeated on February 22.

Pertinent facts in Negro History were outlined in a meeting of the **New Rochelle, N. Y.**, branch February 10 with Mrs. Joseph Bulloch presiding. Speakers were Dr. Edward E. Best, Joseph Bulloch, Allison Henderson, Mrs. Leon W. Scott, Byron Martin and Dr. Caesar P. McClendon. Miss Catherine Smith sang. The branch has forwarded a letter to Charles D. Millard asking that he introduce an anti-lynching bill in the House and support anti-lynching legislation. Mrs. Leon W. Scott has been named a member of the city committee to make a survey of the schools.

The **Augusta, Ga.**, branch celebrated the first anniversary of its reorganization Feb-

BRANCH NEWS

Send the news from your branch regularly to THE CRISIS, 69 Fifth avenue, New York. It must reach us by the first of each month.

My Country, 'Tis of Thee Sweet Land of Liberty—

This is a picture of what happens in America—*and no other place on earth!* Here is the U. S. rope and faggot record to date:

Lynchings since January 1:

3

●

Lynchings during same period last year:

2

●

Total lynchings since 1882:

5,071

●

(Figures as of March 15)

You can help stamp out lynch law by joining the forces who are campaigning for the passage of a federal anti-lynching law by the 74th congress. Write the N.A.A.C.P. for information: 69 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

ruary 11 with a program at the Haines School.

The **District of Columbia** branch has started a campaign of the Washington Bar Association for representation of colored citizens in proportion to population in the offices of the district attorney and cooperation council.

The **New Orleans, La.**, branch under the presidency of James E. Gayle continues to be active in local and national questions touching upon the welfare of colored people. The branch has made notable progress in enlisting the cooperation of other civic organizations. It has sent a resolution to Senator Joseph T. Robinson, majority leader of the senate, urging the passage of the Costigan-Wagner bill and it also has been active in the fight to end discrimination in local relief work and to secure more employment for colored people in relief offices.

The **South Bend, Ind.**, branch was one of the numerous organizations supporting the Civil Rights bill in the Indiana legislation.

The **Omaha, Neb.**, branch joined with the Omaha Urban League in sponsoring a Negro History Week meeting February 15. Miss Mary B. McDowell of Chicago and the Reverend W. L. Weatherly of Lincoln were the principal speakers.

Pine Bluff, Ark., branch on February 12 held a Lincoln-Douglass program. Mrs. J. B. Watson, wife of the president of Arkansas State college, delivered the principal address. A radio was installed in the church so that the audience could hear the addresses of Senators Costigan and Wagner over a nation-wide net work.

Mrs. Minnie Wright, president of the N. E. Federation of Women's clubs, was the principal speaker at the annual banquet and election of the **Boston, Mass.**, branch February 22. Other speakers were Lewis O. Hartman, the Reverend George H. Spencer and G. C. Williams. Butler R. Wilson, veteran president of the branch, was reelected.

A successful membership campaign was closed by the **Topeka, Kan.**, branch March 6. The campaign leader was Mrs. Grace A. Sawyer. Those working with her were Miss Jean Jones; Mrs. Charles W. French; Miss Julia Johnson; Miss Annabelle Sawyer; Eldon Wallace; McKinley Burnett; U. A. Graham and Isaiah Edwards.

The **Kansas City, Kan.**, branch held the second in a series of human interest meetings February 17 with C. S. Tim, a Corean and a graduate of Ottowa university, as the speaker.

Dr. C. W. Dorsey was re-elected president of the **Philadelphia, Pa.**, branch for the coming year. Other officers elected were Mrs. M. Louise Augusta and John M. Brown, vice-presidents; I. Maxmilian Martin, secretary; Henry Carter Patterson, treasurer and the following members of the executive committee:

Jacob Billikopf, Dr. T. S. Burwell, Mrs. Clementine Cochran, Harold Goodwin, Dr. Harry J. Greene, Reverend John R. Logan, Isadore Martin, Miss Susan Masseaux, Dr. J. G. Moore and John Francis Williams. A vigorous fight against discrimination being practiced by automobile insurance companies in Pennsylvania towards colored automobile owners, has been started by the branch. A number of these insurance companies refuse to write public liability and property damage insurance for colored applicants, who thus are denied protection against any claims made on them arising out of accidents. The companies have been unable to produce any statistics showing that Negro drivers have a higher accident rate than any other racial group and the whole basis of their action seems to be racial prejudice. Since appeals to the state insurance department have not been effective, the branch is preparing to introduce a bill in the state legislature prohibiting this kind of discrimination. The senior class in sociology of the Philadelphia Normal School was addressed last month on the work of the N.A.A.C.P. by Isadore Martin, member of the executive committee of the local branch, on the invitation of the head of that department. For the past three years the school has called on the branch for information relative to the activities of the association.

The monthly business meeting of the **El Paso, Tex.**, branch was held February 3 at the Second Baptist Church. Among the communications read were letters from the Women's City Government Club, Rabbi Joseph M. Roth, and Rabbi Martin Zielonka—all informing us that they had sent communications to our senators and representatives requesting their support for the Costigan-Wagner anti-lynching bill.

Melvin J. Halsey was elected February 24 as president of the **Plainfield, N. J.**, branch.

The fourth annual dance of the **New York, N. Y.**, branch was held March 15.

The New Jersey state conference of branches met in Orange, March 9 and made plans for the holding of its fourth annual state oratorical contest. The date has not been agreed upon, but it will probably be the latter part of May. The contest will be held this year in Jersey City.

Preparations are going forward for the second annual metropolitan district oratorical contest in the New York City area, exclusive of New Jersey branches in the metropolitan area. It is probable that the finals in this contest will be held sometime in May.

One of the most active junior branches in the Association is the **Beaver Valley, Pa.**, branch of which the president is Virginia Board. Other officers are: first vice-president, Eleanore Crunkleton; second vice-president, Ruth Peoples; secretary, Edward Yancy; assistant secretary, Josephine King; financial secretary, Florence Lowe; treasurer, Eugene Taylor; advertising manager, Thomas Blackwell; historian, Lauretta Board; sponsor, Mrs. Jessie Law. The branch is already planning to send a delegate to the annual conference in St. Louis in June.

The **Akron, O.**, branch has petitioned the city council to pass a resolution asking Congress to enact the Costigan-Wagner bill.

An important anti-lynching mass meeting was held by the **Louisville, Ky.**, branch February 17. It was the first attempt of the Louisville branch to hold an interracial meeting. A number of religious and civic organizations cooperated and pledged themselves to send letters to Senators Barclay and Logan. Chairman E. S. Lotspeich of the Interracial Commission in Kentucky was the white speaker and Dean R. E. Clement of Louisville Municipal College was the colored speaker. Programs were contributed by the white Y.W.C.A.

Correction

THE CRISIS is glad to correct its statement on the cover of the March issue to the effect that Mrs. Gertrude Elise Ayer is the first colored principal of a mixed school in New York City. Professor W. L. Bulkley was the first such principal. THE CRISIS is also in receipt of letters telling of the career of Miss Maria Baldwin, who for many years was principal of a school in Cambridge, Mass.

Book Review

OLLIE MISS, by George Wylie Henderson. Frederick A. Stokes Company, New York. 276 pp. $2.50.

In this novel, Mr. Henderson, a young colored New Yorker, has written with beauty and power of a strong character, Ollie Miss, who could hold her own with any man as a cotton farm laborer or tenant farmer. I confess I started the book rather dubiously, but Ollie held me until the end. The writing lets down in spots and of plot there is not a great deal, but of Ollie there is much. The strength of the book is in this simple, strong woman and the narrative of her actions and occasional remarks.

Ollie comes out of nowhere, hungry and tired, seeking food and work as a farm hand with Uncle Alex, a colored man who owns his own farm and works hands and sharecroppers and tenants.

"I kin plow all right," she said simply to Uncle Alex, who suggested maybe she should take a hoe and chop cotton. Plow she did—better than the two men with whom she tackled a field the next morning. And from that time on, Ollie had a job and food.

But this strangely silent girl, who lived in a shack by herself, who let no man water her plow horse, or harness him, who shouldered every task easily and competently and asked no favors because of her sex, burned with a love for Jule whom she had left behind. Jule, his eyes, his great shoulders and slender waist and his powerful attraction for her, kept her content in her shanty, enabled her to withstand the gibes of the curious old women who sought to pry into her affairs, and aided her to spurn gently but firmly the attentions of the men about the place.

No angel, she, and no love-sick girl. A drink of corn liquor on occasion and a dance on a Saturday night—a strong, frank, unashamed sensuous dance and then a walk home by moonlight. But all the while the memory of Jule to maintain her serenity. Finally, at a break in the work she treks off on a visit to find Jule, but returns after a week, unsuccessful. Jule, it seems, has been lured away to another town by a young, pretty girl, a girl whose abandoned, too-dainty underwear tells Ollie Miss better than words or pictures just what kind of woman has taken her Jule.

The climax of the tale is reached in the return of Jule to a revival meeting where he knows Ollie will be and the fight between Jule and his little girl who follows him, in which Ollie, to save Jule, jumps between them and takes a nasty razor cut down her side and back. Ollie recovers, but will not marry Jule or prosecute the girl. She is going to have a baby by Jule and prefers to devote her life to it rather than its father. Uncle Alex promises her ten acres of her own and she sends Jule away.

There is no way in a review to depict these simple events in the compelling way the author has done in his story. Ollie has to be met and followed page by page. Mr. Henderson pictures with accuracy of detail the rural life in the cotton belt. The novel is illustrated with wood cuts by Lowell Leroy Balcolm.

ROY WILKINS

Read the Crisis

The Soap Box Theatre

By Hollace Ransdell

With little or no fanfare, groups of workers of all races in all sections of the country are presenting labor drama out of the raw experiences of their everyday lives. There is no color line among the actors or in the material. The soap box theatre bids fair to become a powerful force in demonstrating the common problems of white and black workers

A PAUNCHY black stove with isinglass doors through which the fiery coals inside flowed red, a large walnut veneer table covered with a lace-edged, hand-embroidered cloth, and a side-board to match took up most of the space, but around the margin of the dining room, in the corners and sweltering in the heat beside the hot base burner, ten Pennsylvania hard coal miners sat listening closely to the young woman teacher who had met with them in the home of one of the group to start a class in labor drama. There were no women present besides the teacher, for the miners' wives were meeting that same evening in another home to organize their own dramatics group. They had decided to meet separately, not only to make it less crowded, but also because the women felt that most of the members of their group were more backward in speaking up than the men, and probably would sit quiet and let their husbands do all the talking in the discussions if they met together. After a time they plan to have joint social meetings occasionally, and show off before each other, or work up a dramatic performance together.

Classes in public speaking, parliamentary law, history of the labor movement and other subjects of special interest to industrial workers are also being held in workers' homes in this particular region of the Anthracite, under the workers' education program which is being sponsored by the Federal Emergency Relief Administration. The Affiliated Schools for Workers is offering guidance and help to the classes wherever possible.

Eight children, all under twelve, stood or sat on the floor, or squeezed together two to a chair around the doorway between the kitchen and dining room where the men's dramatic class was meeting in the home of a Welsh miner. (The others in the class were Irish, Polish, Russian and Italian, making, quite by accident, a group representative of the predominating nationalities in the community.) With round curious eyes the children watched what went on in the dining room as they played quietly. Only four of them belonged there, the others were visitors who had come with their fathers. Now and then a whisper or a quickly suppressed childish laugh was heard, but for the most part they were amazingly quiet. It was the room they took up rather than their whispers and scuffling feet which made their presence noticeable.

Cramped quarters and lack of a stage are the limitations facing many of the labor drama groups which have sprung up in all parts of the country in connection with the trade union and workers' education movement. One of the traditions of the mummers of England in the old days whose troupes of masked players once roamed about the countryside, might quite appropriately be adopted by the workers' dramatic groups. Appearing suddenly at some social gathering, one of the mummers would step forward with a broom, crying, "Room, room!" and making motions as though he were sweeping the people out of the way, clear a space on the floor for the actors to perform.

Negro Students in Atlanta

A large part of the workers' dramatic groups which are rehearsing or putting on their plays and skits today at union meetings, workers' clubs and elsewhere, like the mummers of the past, frequently have nothing but a cleared space in an often crowded room, or a small platform, or a grassy place under the trees, or the strip of flooring in front of the nailed-down desks in a school room, for a stage. Negro students in a workers' education training school in Atlanta, Georgia, last summer used to gather on the steps outside the building, or on the campus lawn, to make up and rehearse their labor plays and skits. A group of textile workers from a small cotton mill village near Mobile, Alabama, met in a dingy small lodge room to put together some dialogue and scenes drawn directly from the textile strike then in progress. Some silk weavers in Pawtucket, Rhode Island, used one of the small sitting rooms at the Y.W.C.A. to work up some impromptu acting. In Mt. Carmel, Pennsylvania, a group of miners and unemployed men of various trades acted out their dramatic skits in the front of a sixth grade school room while their audience sat at the children's desks. They drew rough sketches on the blackboard to indicate certain essential stage property. A group of clothing workers in Louisville, Kentucky, met for rehearsals in a basement room at the public library. One group, members of the Central Labor Union in Nashville, Tennessee, were fortunate enough to have the use of a stage at the Labor Temple, but this is rare.

Stage setting and costuming, if there is any at all, is usually suggestive. A very little must stand for a great deal. A swastika cut out of paper makes a Hitler; a tin-foil star, a policeman; a card-board stove-pipe hat covered with black crepe paper, tags a banker or a diplomat. A table and chair is a business office, or the ante-room in a relief station; a bench is a park, and a rocking chair makes a parlor.

Some of the most effective plays given by the labor drama groups are worked up quickly, almost—sometimes entirely—impromptu, from material which the members have seen or experienced at first hand. One young man who had taken an active part on the picket line and who was a member of the labor drama group in the Alabama cotton mill village mentioned before, undertook at a meeting of the class to give a representation of the behavior of the "boss-man" which he said he had witnessed the previous day and thought would make good material for the picket line scene. With a piece of wood which he had whittled into the shape of a revolver, he mounted the tiny platform in front, and dashing and plunging about on his cramped stage, he waved his wooden gun and shouted: "You ought to be gutted and throwd in the Alabamy river. You ain't fittin' to live, you little ole hound dog runnin' 'round on three legs. You got the mark of the beast on you! Look out there! Don't come no closer, or I'll drill a hole through you! Git yourselves off my premises or I'll shoot your damn guts out!" It was certainly a highly dramatic incident he was acting out, and the leader of the dramatics group was busy copying down his words as he spoke them, but at this point, one of the ladies in the club objected to his harsh realistic treatment, and his ardor dampened, the young man sat down hastily, muttering that "just the same that's exactly what the boss-man said," but that he had left out the worst of it.

(*Continued on page* 124)

LETTERS *from* READERS

Deplores Ethiopian Article and Lynching Picture

To the Editor of The Crisis:—It is unfortunate for your magazine to print such an article as bears the caption "Last Gobble of Africa." Italy, France and Britain are not all thieves and conspirators. I wonder how those nations would enjoy the article?

And why print such a cut as defaces page 90 in the March issue?

Henry T. McDonald, *President*
Storer College
Harpers Ferry, W. Va.

(Editor's Note:—President McDonald, leader of an institution for the training of Negro youth, believes it "unfortunate" to imply that the European nations, which have gobbled up all of Africa except Abyssinia, are now embarking upon the gobbling of that independent nation. The cut to which President McDonald refers shows the lynching of a colored man in Florida and the good president evidently believes such incidents should not be publicized. President McDonald is the man who in May, 1932, denied to the N.A.A.C.P. conference the privilege of placing a tablet in honor of John Brown on the campus of Storer College. The inscription on the tablet, written by Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, read:

"Here John Brown aimed at human slavery a blow that woke a guilty nation. With him fought 7 slaves and sons of slaves. Over his crucified corpse marched 200,000 black soldiers and 4,000,000 freedmen singing John Brown's body lies a-moulder-ing in the grave but his soul goes marching on."

President McDonald felt that this inscription was inaccurate and offensive to the Confederacy.)

Disagrees with Miss Edwards

To the Editor of The Crisis:—Had Thyra J. Edwards been accurate and judicious as she is charming and clever, there would have been no necessity for this letter.

In her article "Let Us Have More Like Mr. Sopkins" published in the March issue of The Crisis, Miss Edwards made numerous statements contrary to facts, some of which may be excused by those knowing Miss Edwards' affiliations with, and work for the I. L. G. W. Union, but no just person could stand by and forgive her attack upon all leaders and employers whose honest convictions are contrary to the idea of organized labor especially when such attack labels them as "unscrupulous."

Is it not reasonable for one—or multitudes—to disagree with Miss Edwards on one or more subjects and remain scrupulous?

Is it only unscrupulous people that resent class hatred such as Miss Edwards is endeavoring to preach?—and pray, what is the difference between class hatred and race hatred?

Some of the facts that Miss Edwards did not bring out are:

(1) That Mr. Ben Sopkin whose manufacturing establishments are not controlled by any organized labor union, was the first in his industry to hire and teach colored labor how to operate power machines and sew dresses.

(2) That this same Ben Sopkin, after the advent of the N R A retained his colored help and paid the same scale of wages that the code of his industry stipulated.

(3) That other manufacturers whose shops are partially or wholly unionized, when faced with the equal pay provision, replaced their colored help with white and Miss Edwards' beloved union nodded its approval.

(4) That in this man Sopkin's establishments, both colored and whites work side by side—belong to the same clubs and attend the same parties.

(5) That these same employees, whom Miss Edwards termed once as very efficient and in a second breath as the most uninformed, unskilled mass of workers, have rejected her union by a vote of 866 to 2.

Let us not sacrifice our sense of fairness on a pyre of red fire!

Let us be big enough to give credit where credit is due—and by all means—let us have more men like Mr. Sopkin.

Shahud J. Turiaky
Chicago, Ill.

Wants The Crisis More Literary

To the Editor of The Crisis:—Every effort should be made to raise the literary value of The Crisis. It has been faring very badly in this respect of late. Thanks for J. A. Rogers' article on Ethiopia. This is an improvement. Rogers, of course, is one of my literary "heroes." Personally, I am fed up with lynching. It is high time that Negroes in America should ever bear in mind McKay's "If we must die" and meet the mob with organized resistance. If the U. S. A. government wishes at all to put down lynching this can easily be done, but I am afraid that Negroes will forever be lynched until Negroes are prepared to fight as they did in Chicago, East St. Louis and Tulsa.

Negro America is poorer by the absence of DePriest from Congress; and is being disgraced by Mitchell being there!

J. R. Ralph Casimir
Roseau, Dominica, B. W. I.

Thank You

To the Editor of The Crisis:—I am enclosing one dollar and fifty cents for my renewal to The Crisis. I have misplaced my renewal blank. I am still strong for The Crisis and send The Crisis after reading it to friends in New Zealand and Australia and they like it very much and so do I. I do wish that we could get more Negroes to read The Crisis.

James H. Burney
Newport, R. I.

To the Editor of The Crisis:—I want to congratulate you on the illuminating articles on the Italian-Abyssinian situation. But one cannot blame Italy without blaming the other powers and the whole made war system. I hope that these articles may be continued from time to time.

Reverend Charles K. Imbrie
Newburgh, N. Y.

To the Editor of The Crisis:—I was very much interested in your editorial "Something to Crow About" and wish you had made it longer and cited a few illustrations of Negroes in city councils, state legislatures, and United States Congress, and Negro judges in several cities. I hope you will return to this theme to compare the proportion of Negroes in public affairs in America when the radical propagandists bring out their next exhibit of some lone incident in the USSR.

I congratulate you also on the wide scope of interest in the articles in this issue, ranging from East Africa and Cuba to several phases of race relations in America.

George E. Haynes
New York, N. Y.

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I've Heard Of A City Called Heaven	.15
I'm Drinking From A Fountain	.15
We'll Go On And Serve The Lord	.15
I'll Be There In The Morning	.15
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Oberlin

(*Continued from page* 118)

drifted in from the surrounding poverty stricken cities and towns, from Cleveland, Detroit, Elyria and Lorain. Many of them had only recently come to these places from the South. In Oberlin the first appearance of prosperity has deceived them, the cultured kindliness of the people caused them to remain whenever possible. The results are deplorable. The college has laid off very little of its regular help, but it has been forced to suspend all building programs. There is nothing for these newcomers to do. Older citizens do what they can to help in the adjustment of these people, but they themselves are cramped by the acute economic crisis. Perhaps when the college was smaller it was closer to the town than it is now. I do not know this because the gap seems largely a matter of "town and gown" and perfectly natural. There has, however, recently come about a rift in which the college was not wholly blameless.

This was the matter of a thesis written a year ago by a graduate student in the department of sociology. The thesis was written on the Oberlin Negro and the student spent several months in making a survey. The older colored citizens welcomed her into their homes and talked freely. The ministers of the two colored churches, both of them students in the Graduate School of Theology, introduced her to their congregations and urged their members to give her every assistance. She turned the material over to the son of one of the old Oberlin families for typing. Murmurs were heard regarding the contents of the thesis, and when it was filed in the library several persons asked to read it. A little storm of protest arose. It appeared that the writer had drawn her material almost entirely from that group of Negroes who now make up this eighty-five per cent on town relief. Had the thesis been written as a study in maladjustment, of the depressing conditions produced by the inability to cope with an unusual situation, the protest would have soon given way to a healthy combining of all forces to do something about it. But this was not the case. The thesis claimed to be a "historical and sociological survey of the Oberlin Negro." The citizens felt that they had been betrayed. High school students poured into the library and devoured with avid interest details concerning the depraved state of Oberlin Negroes; they read that religious services were conducted somewhat in the manner pictured in the "Emperor Jones" film, and that every social gathering of young Negroes in Oberlin ended in a fight! Finally, the librarian was forced to remove the thesis from the library shelf. This only fanned the smoldering resentment into open bitterness. The result is that the doors of the village have been slammed in the face of any inquiring student. An attempt which has been made since that time to make a complete and inclusive survey has met with signal failure.

Idealism Preserved

This was an unfortunate and much to be regretted blunder, but it in no way represents the spirit, the idealism or the intention of the college. There are about sixty colored students in the conservatory, the college, and the graduate school of theology. These students, men and women, live in the various dormitories scattered over the campus. They belong to the bands, orchestra, the choruses, debating teams, football and basketball teams, etc. A Negro is president of one House group, a Negro is president of the Cosmopolitan Club. No facility of the college is closed to them. These privileges include the participation in any dance or dormitory party and the unlimited use of the swimming pools. I understand that the matter of the girls living freely in the various dormitories has only come about in recent years. If these conditions exist on an equally large scale on any other campus in America I do not know it. I should like to be enlightened.

Since the days one hundred years ago when Oberlin was established as a lighthouse of learning on a pioneer frontier, the land about it has changed from a wilderness to a prosperous, materially minded, capitalistic country. Many larger universities have grown up in the middle west; many livelier towns have grown into great cities. The streets of Oberlin remain wide and shaded and placid. The huge, old elm and cedar trees meet in green, cool arches overhead. Here for a little while we may escape from the heat and turmoil of life and gather strength to go out and serve. This is particularly true for Negro students to whom life offers so much of battle and strife. Oberlin traditions are not dead. They are as deeply rooted as these giant trees. They are often as silent.

I am thinking of the conservatory professor who, knowing that a Negro student had worked here winter and summer for several years with neither the money nor time for a single trip home, gave to this student as a Christmas present a trip half way across the continent and back. I am thinking of the college professor who out of his pocket paid nearly all the expenses one semester of a Negro student who would otherwise have had to drop out. They were young teachers with every avenue in the world open to them for spending their money. Neither of them knows about the other. They would be the last persons in the world to lift their voices in a meeting dealing with any Negro "problem." They would not be present at the meeting.

Oberlin alumni does not forget—scholarships, loans, encouragement, friends. We are the debtors.

But I am waxing "sentimentally romantic." Note, however, that I speak of the immediate present, not of the past. I should be the last person to tell Negro students to come here expecting to be coddled and petted. Oberlin doesn't do that sort of thing for anyone. We have a ranking system. Freshmen turn pale before it. From time to time undergraduates try to have the system changed. It will not be changed until a better system is found. After all, life ranks us. Just where do you rank?

I have set forth a few additional facts. There are many more. I would close with this thought: Though the determination of one man threw open to us the doors of Oberlin, it is not possible, after these many years, for any such negligible minority to close them. Dangers from invasion do not become acute until they are accompanied by disintegration from within. Here is where we must guard against cracks in the wall, remembering that Oberlin does not consist of a few acres of campus and a few buildings, but of men and women, white *and* black.

Soap Box Theatre

(*Continued from page* 122)

A Mississippi Lynching

A waitress in a labor drama group in Texas presented at one of the meetings of the class with the assistance of another member, a dialogue which she had heard between two men at a Rotary Club lunch which had been held in the restaurant where she worked. She explained that the characters who had not seen each other for some time, were reminiscing about the past. "D'you remember that time we had 'nigger trouble' down in Mississippi, just after the war? I was on guard on the bridge and I bet I fired fifty round of ammunition. And I'll never forget that night they lynched a 'nigger.' It was just my damn luck to miss it! I'd been on a bat the night before and was dead tired, so I went to bed early. That's how I came to miss the lynching, but his body was still hanging there the next morning. The coroner never came to claim it for twenty-four hours, and he was left hanging there by his neck, so we all went down to see him the next day, remember?" The dramatics leader took down the words as the young actress spoke them.

The labor plays which get the most

effective response from the audiences, tend to be satiric or comic in tone, aiming for the most part to arouse laughter and thought, by bringing out the ridiculous or the sardonic. For the purpose of labor dramatics is frankly to teach. It tries to make clear to a working class audience the functioning of social forces behind the problems and struggles of workers. It seeks to interpret the daily life and the conflicts of the working class from the workers' point of view. Like the performance of the mummers of the past, many of which were based on the story of the struggles of St. George and the Dragon, done with variations of character and dialogue, the labor play may be and often is, built around a type play, in which the worker in St. George, and the destructive forces of modern industrial society, the dragon.

The battle that goes on among the intellectuals as to whether or not propaganda can also be art, passes over the heads of most of the members of the labor drama classes. They are far too modest about their activities to dream of claiming that their simple, spontaneous, and impromptu performances come anywhere near the august realm of art. Like the soap box orator on his improvised platform, the actor in a labor drama steps forth simply on his improvised stage, and advances ideas dramatized in simple scenes and words, which he believes the working class should know and think about.

Settlement House

(*Continued from page* 109)

The placing of the portrait of Phyllis Wheatley there in the lobby is as apt as is the choice of name for the House. The name "Phyllis Wheatley" was chosen for the House in the memory of a little African girl brought to America on a slave ship. This little emaciated, eight-year-old girl, whom no one wanted to buy, because she was too weak to do hard work, was finally sold on the auction block in Boston to Mr. and Mrs. John Wheatley for three bundles of tobacco. Phyllis was appointed special maid to the Wheatley's little daughter, who was only three years Phyllis' senior. The little mistress grew much interested in Phyllis, and with her parents' consent, taught her to read and write. With Phyllis' natural ability and retentive mind, she had mastered four languages at the age of nineteen, and at twenty-one she began to write verse. In 1773, her first book of poems was published. Because of her Christian character, her faithfulness, and her determination to take advantage of opportunities, it seemed quite fitting to call the new House "Phyllis Wheatley," in the hope that the people who come within its walls would catch the inspiration of her life.

Much of the credit for the success of the first ten years of Phyllis Wheatley House is due to its Head Resident, W. Gertrude Brown. The calibre of this leader is discernible in the program which she desires to put through in the next ten years. These plans include a $1,000 scholarship loan fund; a housing program for the Sumner Field district; a budget of $18,000 a year; and a fairer labor program for Negroes. Some progress has been made in providing openings in various fields for the Negroes of Minneapolis. It was through the efforts of the settlement and its head resident that the first Negro policewoman was placed in Minneapolis; the first Negro nurse was placed in the University Hospital; the first Negro bookbinder was engaged by the Minneapolis Public Library; and the first Negro file clerk was employed by the General Hospital of Minneapolis. It is hoped that these appointments will be opening wedges for the permanent placement of persons trained in those fields. It was also through the efforts of Miss Brown and the Phyllis Wheatley Board that Henry W. "Mike" Bannarn, young painter and sculptor, was given an opportunity to study at the Minneapoliss Art Institute, and later, to continue his art education in New York.

Phyllis Wheatley is a center in which the workers and the community have found the infinite value of knowing one another, of working together and of living together with a common aim. The greatest ambitions of the House, its staff and head resident, are that in the next ten years, the history of the past ten will repeat itself on a grander scale; that the next ten years will find the Negro of Minneapolis prepared to take his place in the community; and that the community, in turn, will be prepared to give him his true citizen's privilege to work, to play, and to live.

Crawford

(*Continued from page* 117)

the brother had had absolutely nothing to do with the crime; and that the motive was burglary. The findings of the pathologist eliminated any sex element, normal or otherwise.

(The second part of the statement in the George Crawford case will appear in the May CRISIS.)

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